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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain 14 papers and notes from 2 symposia in English and 2 papers in French. Abstracts appear at the beginning of the volume. The following papers are included: "Symposium Notes: What Is the Future of Adult Education in Canada?" (Bernard, MacNeil, Selman); "John Dewey Dialogues with an Adult Educator in 1987" (Barer-Stein); "Family Awakening and Parental Learning" (Blackwell); "The Role of Corporate Education in a Changing Financial Marketplace" (Cochrane); "Self-Directed Learning and the Misappropriation of Adult Education Practice" (Collins); "Critical Assumptions in University/Industry Continuing Education" (Hein); "Housing Co-ops: Adult Education for Social Change" (Hille); "Analysis of the Concept Learned Resourcefulness: Implications for Practitioners" (Hinds); "Methodological Dilemmas in Evaluating Demonstration Projects" (Darveau-Fournier, Home); "A Clerisy for Mutual and Popular Enlightenment: The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, 1909" (Hunt); "Race Relations Training for School Administrators and Employees: An Adult Education Model" (Mukherjee, Cooper); "Adult Educators and Their Organizations: Specialization or Balkanization" (Selman); "Le profil actuel et future de formation et de perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes" (Serre); "Commitment to a Movement: The History of the Ontario Association for Continuing Education 1966-1986" (Smith); "The Nature of Policy-Making in Adult Education Organizations" (Taylor); "L'etat de champ d'etude universitaire de l'education des adultes" (Touchette); "Feminist Discourse and the Research Enterprise: Implications for Adult Education Research" (Warren); and "The Cusps of University in Adult Education" (Bernard). Most of the papers contain bibliographies. (KC)

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CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

6th Annual Conference

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May 29 - 31, 1987
McMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO

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PROCEEDINGS

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PREFACE

This volume documents the proceedings of the sixth annual conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) held in Hamilton, Ontario at McMaster University, May 29th to 31st, 1987.

This was a milestone year for our Association with the beginning of our learned journal. Our membership continues to grow and this year we had an increase of almost twenty-five percent. More people are coming to our annual conference; almost one hundred attended the McMaster event.

We are pleased to present 17 of the presented papers and some notes from the two symposia. Only those papers and notes actually submitted for publication appear in these proceedings, hence not all papers as listed in the original conference program are included. They are presented in the language in which they were received.

The theme of the opening symposium, "What is the Future of Adult Education?" set the stage for the rest of the conference. Many papers addressed this same question in different ways and by different means depending on the context of the presentation. The topics cover a wide spectrum of concerns including: parental learning, the role of corporate education, methodological dilemmas in evaluating performance, feminist discourse, to name but a few. Some papers have a practical purpose, directing action--implications for practitioners,

PREFACE

Vous trouvez dans ce volume un compte-rendu de la sixième conférence annuelle de l'ACEEA tenue à Hamilton, Ontario à l'Université McMaster du 29 au 31 mai 1987.

Ce fut une année marquante pour l'association. En effet, nous avons eu cette année la parution de notre journal professionnel.

Le nombre de nos membres continue d'augmenté et le taux de croissance a été de 25% cette année. Plus de gens assistent à notre réunion annuelle; près de 100 personnes participaient à la rencontre de McMaster.

Nous sommes heureux de publier 17 des articles présentés et quelques notes des 2 colloques. Nous ne publions ici que les articles et présentations soumis pour publication. Vous ne retrouverez donc pas tous les titres inclus dans le programme de la conférence. Ils sont présentés dans la langue dans laquelle ils ont été soumis.

Le thème du colloque d'ouverture, "Quel est le futur de l'Education de Adultes?", donna le ton au reste de la conférence. Ce même sujet fut traité dans plusieurs présentations de différentes façons et avec des moyens différents selon le contexte.

Les sujets présentés traitent d'une grande varieté de préoccupacions: éducations des parents, le rôle de l'éducation dans l'entreprise, problèmes méthodologique dans l'évaluation et des idéologies a model for race relations--others deal with our historical past, reminding us of our "roots"; while others are more speculative in nature, thus challenging our thinking. Collectively these papers give us a perspective on the "state of the art" of adult education today and provide some clues for future directions.

Our thanks are extended to Mel Matthias, Conference Chairperson, and the members of the proposal selection committee for their efforts in reviewing these papers. Thanks, also, to Bill Fallis and Seymour Applebaum who assisted Mel in making the 1987 CASAE/ACEEA conference possible.

The papers are presented in alphabetical order except for the symposia notes which are included at the beginning and end of the document. To aid the reader in the selection of readings, an author-written abstract for each paper or presentation is given at the beginning of the text following the table of contents. Preparing these proceedings is the final task of the St. F. X. executive, thus the Antigonish chapter in the life of our Association comes to a close. It has been our pleasure serving you. Thank you for your support during the past two years. Au revoir!

féministe: certains articles sont à buts pratiques -- comme les implications pour les membres actifs de la profession et modèle dans les relations interraciales. D'autres articles traitent de l'histoire de notre passé et de nos racines, tandis que d'autres sont de nature plus abstraite et donne à réflexion.

L'ensemble de ces présentations nous donne une vue d'ensemble de la situation actuelle de l'éducation des adultes et fournit des donnés pour les directions à prendre dans le futur.

Nous tenons à remercier Mel Matthias, président de la conférence et les membres du comité de selection pour avoir bien voulu reviser ces articles. Nous remercions également Bill Fallis et Seymour Applebaum qui ont assisté Mel dans la préparation de la conférence.

Les articles sont présentés en ordre alphabéthique sauf pour les notes du colloque qui sont incluses au commencement et à la fin du document.

A la table des matières, chaque titre est precédé d'un résumé de l'auteur afin de faciliter la sélection. Ce document est le dernier produit sous le mandat du comité exécutif de St. F. X. Il nous a fait plaisir de vous servir. Merci pour votre support durant ces 2 années.

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION
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Barer-Stein, Thelma

John Dewey Dialogues with an Adult Educator in 1987 -- P. 11

John Dewey's 1933 publication called "How We Think" is discovered by an adult educator in 1987. Blowing off the dust of the assumption that Dewey was just associated with the education of children, this dialogue begins with the premise that 'thinking' must be of importance to the educators of adults as well as of children. The adult educator enjoys an exhilarating exchange that touches on the differences between adults and children, the task of teaching and parenting, and the place of 'thinking' in learning. Enriched and intrigued, the adult educator wonders what other wisdom may have been overlooked in assuming that Dewey only spoke to teachers of children.

This presentation will be in the form of a 'play reading' with two participants. 'Dewey' will stay long enough to engage in discussion with the audience.

Blackwell, A.

Family Awakening and Parental Learning -- P. 24

The writings of Alice Miller, Robert Kegan, Wilhelm Reich, and Joseph Chilton Pearce all seem to propose that children's innate developmental blueprints can fully unfold only when they are met with sufficient respect and appropriate transparent models in their immediate personal environments. Are such respect and transparency achievable in daily family practice? What are the difficulties faced by parents who seek to let their childraising be guided by the unfolding of their children's inner potential?

This paper will report on in-depth interviews conducted with parents of children in alternative public shcools in Toronto. The presenter will identify and analyse some implications of the alternative parents' experience and learning for developmental theory, for peace and conflict studies, and for public educational policy.

Cochrane. B

The Role of Corporate Education in a Changing Financial Market Place -- P. 48

The financial industry is in a state of change. In the bank/trust industry, specialists are becoming generalists (e.g., tellers are now Customer Service Representatives, corporate account officers with specialist portfolios now sell a variety of corporate services). Mergers and acquisitions make new demands on employees, often requiring cross selling between various kinds of companies or divisions.

My purpose is to examine how the financial industry is responding to these changes, particularly in terms of education. I intend to use interviews and questionnaires, to examine several models of reaction among the banks and trust companies.

The main question concerns the value and kind of corporate education which is considered important to equip employees to face changing job demands.

After examining responses from corporate employers, I hope to reach some conclusions about the nature and status of education in the corporate work place.

Collins, M.

Self Directed Learning and the Misappropriation of Adult Education Practice -- P. 68

This study undertakes an analysis of self-directed learning which has emerged as a major guiding principle for the modern practice of adult education. It incorporates critical theory perspectives (Foucault, Habermas, Marcuse), the phenomenological insights of Alfred Schutz, and the results of phenomenological investigations in adult education settings to show how the techniques and psychologistic orientations of S.D.L. undermine prospects for emancipatory adult education practice. A careful examination of fundamental characteristics of self-directed learning reveals its essentially accommodative intent which effectively masks mechanisms of control.

As the emphasis on formal learning contracts and individuation is brought into question, harmful consequences for both private (non-formalized) adult learning and group cohesiveness come to light.

The analysis draws on the works of Allen Tough, Malcolm Knowles and other writers who have added to the growing corpus of literature on self-directed learning. In conclusion, alternative perspectives on adult education practice are reviewed.

Hein, L

Critical Assumptions in University - Industry Continuing Education -- P. 86

Adult educators practicing in a university continuing education unit often find themselves in the role of conflict mediator when working with the training and development people in government and business. Both the academic community and the training and development community harbour some basic assumptions about education, training and development and they often assume that these assumptions are universally shared. These assumptions are often so much a part of each groups culture that neither group would normally even think that the other side might see things differently. These assumptions cover the range from the very practical, such as the timing of training sessions, to the more complex, such as the identification of content emphasis. This paper will report on a pilot study which identified some of these differing assumptions. The paper will discuss these assumptions and identify those which can be critical to successful cooperation in joint university and industry continuing education programs. The paper will also describe the initial formative evaluation of an intervention instrument which could be used by practitioners to assist in resolving the conflict or tension which can arise due to these differing assumptions.

Hille, R.

Housing Co-ops: Adult Education for Social Change -- P. 98

Co-operative housing provides a setting for delivering adult education in a unique context. Members of a co-op need specific knowledge, attitudes and skills to self-manage their housing communities democratically. In the process of learning individual skills which can provide some degree of personal empowerment, co-op members must also learn group skills such as communication and group decision making, in order to create a healthy community. In this non-formal context, what is the most appropriate way to provide adult education opportunities to learners with a wide range of experiences and abilities?

In 1985, a nine month study was conducted by the Co-operative Housing Federation of B.C. to determine how co-op members perceive their educational needs. This study was also intended to encourage greater learner participation in developing the local education program for housing co-operatives.

This presentation will discuss the theoretical background, the recommendations of the study and the process of implementation now in progress.

Analysis of the Concept Learned Resourcefulness:
Implications for Practitioners -- P. 108

Concept analysis requires systematic examination of the attributes of a given concept for the purpose of clarifying the meaning of that concept. Michenbaum (1977) first applied the term learned resourcefulness in the context of coping skills training. The term was defined by Rosenbaum (1983) as an acquired repertoire of behaviors and skills (mostly cognitive) by which a person self-regulates internal responses, such as, emotions, pain and cognitions that interfere with smooth execution of a target behavior.

Adults facing life threatening illnesses, such as cancer, often must call upon their individual resources to find meaning out of stressful, frequently contradictory experiences. Data from a quality of life scale completed by persons with lung cancer will be incorporated into Rosenbaum's process-regulating cognitions (PRC) model in analysing learned resourcefulness.

Home, A., & Darveau-Fournier, L.

Methodological Dilemmas in Evaluating Demonstration Projects -- P. 127

Demonstration projects can be a valuable tool in promoting innovation, in a era of budgetary restraint, as they combine new programme ideas with a built-in evaluation process. They are a compromise between costly, untested new programmes and rigorous evaluative research, which may take too long when pressing community problems require rapid solutions (Suchman, 1967). These projects emphasize realistic goal setting, exploring key programme elements, and supplementing summative evaluation with formative evaluation feedback to adjust the ongoing programme.

The very flexibility which makes demonstration projects appealing to community education researchers raises methodological dilemmas around evaluation. This paper will argue that a flexible evaluative approach is required, one in which several types of research are combined. To illustrate this theme, the authors will present an example of a project designed to develop a child care service to help families under stress, while strengthening the community's capacity to respond to it's own needs. This project will be used to illustrate how evaluative, developmental and action-research approaches can be combined. Some methodological problems encountered will be discussed and preliminary results will be presented. Participants will be encouraged to share their own experiences in similar projects, with a view to raising methodological issues and suggesting solutions.

Hunt, I.

A Clerisy for Mutual and Popular Enlightenment: The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, 1909 -- P. 147

Turn-of-the-century Canada has been noted for its obsession with easy profit and material gain. This was particularly true for Vancouver, B.C., a boom city at the frontier of the British Empire. In reaction to this rude atmosphere, the Art, Historical and Scientific Association was founded in 1894. This paper argues that Association members saw themselves as a "clerisy"-- a sophisticated educational leadership. Their mission was to promote the higher intellectual, aesthetic, scientific, and moral elements of British culture and civilization amongst Vancouver's residents. The members' biographical characteristics -- social and national origin, occupation, education -- all indicate how they assumed elite social status within the city. This status, their special mission, and their substantial involvement within local educational and reform circles thus explain the Association's impact and significance, and the meaning of its programme of mutual enlightenment.

MukherJee, A., & Cooper, E.

Race Relations Training for School Administrators & Employees: An Adult Education Model -- P. 168

Case presentation method will be used to present an innovative equal opportunity training program within a major school board. This multi-dimensional model utilizes adult education methods and techniques to train managers of the system as well as racial minority staff.

Key features of this model are: use of reference groups; use of a process model which allows an open and experiential learning; provision for employee participants to learn and carry out advocacy regarding issues concerning them; cross-referencing of data between management and staff trainees; learning of practical skills; and examination of bias by managers in their own culture.

This model differs from traditional awareness-based models in four ways: it includes all segments of the system; it examines the potentially discriminatory impact of dominant culture preferences; it empowers minority staff by creating advocacy opportunities; and it allows learning to be put back into the system.

Results of a year's implementation will be described.

Selman, G.

Adult Educators and Their Organizations:
Specialization or Balkanization -- P. 188

The Emergence and Proliferation of adult Education Organizations in Canada: An Historical Perspective

In the last fifty years, and especially the last thirty, the field of adult education in Canada has seen the emergence and subsequently the proliferation of organizations of adult educators. The purposes of these organizations have varied, but tend to have certain elements in common, such as the promotion of communication among and the in-service professional development of the members. With the increasing number of specialized groups in recent years, there is a prospect of the balkanization of adult education and the creation of barriers to communication within the field. This paper examines this phenomenon historically, suggests a typology of organizations, reviews the functions of a representative selection of organizations (national and provincial), and comments on the strengths and problems in the present arrangements. On the basis of this review the author suggests avenues which could be explored in order to both preserve the strengths of specialization and also provide means for acting in concert.

Serre, F.

Le Profil actuel et futur de formation et de perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes -- 207

L'Hypothèse de cette recherche postulait que les formateurs d'adultes qui sont de plus en plus nombreux et de provenances diverses souhaitent se perfectionner. Une recherche-action auprès de 3150 d'entre eux vient de permettre d'identifier leurs compétences actuelles et celles qu'ils désirent acquérir.

Cette recherche a non seulement permis d'accumuler des données; elle veut concourir à ce que soient mises sur pieds des activités de perfectionnement adaptées aux uns et aux autres. Ce projet fait appel à la participation active des conseillers pédagogiques et des directeurs des Services d'éducation des adultes dans l'élaboration d'activités de perfectionnement. Ces derniers ont rencontré les personnes responsables des programmes universitaires de perfectionnement pour élaborer des activités adaptées.

De cette collecte de données et de cette concertation naîtra un projet nouveau de perfectionnement pour l'ensemble des éducateurs d'adultes oeuvrant au sein des Services d'éducation des adultes des Commissions scolaires du Québec.

Smith, R. & Waldron, M.

Commitment to a Movement: The History of the Ontario Association for Continuing Education 1966-1986 -- P. 231

The twenty-year history of the Ontario Association for Continuing Education (OACE) is chronicled. OACE represents another step forward in the progression of the social movement for lifelong learning. It has experienced a history of fluctuating fortunes but without ever losing its commitment to a philosophy of educational opportunity for all. The social movement has continued to progress in the Province of Ontario as has the growth of professionalization in the adult education field. OACE has contributed to the progression, notably in its monitoring of the community college system and presently in its pursuit of adult education policy in Ontario.

As a voluntary Association and a relatively young one at that, problems of funding, staffing and maintaining membership have been perennial. Although the continuing existence of the Association has been in question more than once, it currently is experiencing the necessary continuity to cope with changes over time. Its survival can be attributed to the constant renewal of commitment from its leaders and members. By virtue of its characteristics, OACE is inherent to the adult/continuing education movement in Ontario.

Taylor, W.

The Nature of Policy-Making In Adult Education Organizations -- P. 250

While much of the research in adult education has examined the activities of individual programmers and learners, relatively little has been directed toward the organization itself. It is this organization (whether college, university, or community centre) which determines to a large degree the nature of the adult education program. The adult education organization must react to a number of both external and internal pressures in establishing policies governing the program offerings. How does the organization react to the financial, political, and bureaucratic environments? Are there systems within the organization which collect such information and use it in a process of policy-making? What are the dominant models of decision-making used by adult education organizations - collegial, bureaucratic, political, etc.? These questions formed the basis for an exploratory research study of a major university adult education organization.

The extensive computerized data base of the organization was analyzed to determine the trends in programs over the past five years. These records contained such detailed information as subject area, type of instruction, fees paid and hours of instruction for each program as well as very complete student data. This analysis of programming trends was then compared to the variety of environmental pressures that had been exerted on the organization over the same time period. Based on this comparison a number of conclusions were made about the nature of the policy-making activities within the organization. These conclusions related to such concerns as: Who was influential in policy-making? What was the relative influence of external vs. internal pressures? How accurately did published policy statements reflect the actual policies as exhibited in the organization's program output? This study and others in the policy field are designed to provide policy-makers with insight into the policy-making process. Understanding of the process should encourage the more effective use of the resources available and may help to differentiate between what is, what should be, and what can be.

Warren, C.

Feminist Discourse and The Research Enterprise: Implications for Adult Education Research -- P. 293

Feminist scholarship in Canada in all disciplines is alive and well and providing challenges and new questions to be addressed by all disciplines. In January 1987 a Canadian conference focusses on the effects of feminist approaches on research methodologies through the invited papers of feminist scholars from sixteen disciplines. While the discipline or field of study of adult education was not included, one might well ask: To what extent does this thought influence or is shared by adult education?

Many of the researchers, upon reflecting upon their experiences independently, seemed to come up with an epistemological framework which examined critically three types of suggested solutions to feminist claims. Each solution has its epistemological structure and research studies and results pertaining to that structure can be examined and analyzed. A similar framework is one which also has been examined by a philosopher of science, Sandra Harding, in her work The Science Question in Feminism. Her kinds of solutions, similar to those used by many conference researchers were: feminist empiricism; feminist standpoint; and feminist part modernism.

Each of these three viewpoints will be identified and discussed and the advantages and disadvantages of each examined in light of its implications for our work in adult education. In particular, a critical view of technology, our involvement with it in adult education, and the consequences for women will be examined.

Finally, this paper will discuss the third type of possible solution, feminist post modernism as a complex but an interesting one expecially because of its articulation with other intellectual movements. Collectively, these strands of intellectual inquiry have been referred to a critical theory. Critical theory is currently of interest to a number of adult educators and this paper will seek to place feminist discourse within the larger discourse.

SYMPOSIUM

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN CANADA?/ QU'EST-CE QUE C'EST L'AVENIR DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULT AU CANADA?

Members:

Alan Thomas: Chair

Jean-Louis Bernard

Teresa MacNeil

Gordon Selman

Bernard Shapiro

Jean Louis BERNARD
Full Professor, Andragogy
University of Montreal

Where is the future of adult education?

As a matter of fact we assist to the transformation of older models of living in the socio-sphere as a whole, which cause dramatic changes in the techno-sphere and the info-sphere. When we alter the structures of productive and economic organizations and service-centered organizations, we are also changing the way ordinary people, in their daily lives, behave. For when we change the deep structure of civilization, we simultaneously rewrite all the codes by which we live. The code book of principles or rules that governed everyday behaviour is directly attacked by a counter code book which is emerging.

To understand this new code and how it contrasts with the old ones is to understand instantly many of the otherwise confusing conflicts that swirl around us, exhausting our energies and threatening our personal power, prestige, or paycheck.

Because we are rewriting many sections of our social code, people and groups are progressively aware of that new philosophies, new management techniques, new political parties, new interpersonal relationships are springing up so that they attack the core of previous beliefs, attitudes and behaviors undertaken by older as well as younger adult generations.

Decoding the old and new rules and principles and recoding new behaviors are major learning tasks for everybody and for emerging social groups. Needless to say that reorienting, reframing, and refocusing are important operations to deal with in learning situations.

The decay of the yesterday in the thought system leaves millions of adults individually, in sub-groups, or in groups grasping desperately for something to hold on. Lacking a systematic framework for understanding the clash of forces in today's world, we are like a ship's crew, trapped in a storm and trying to navigate between dangerous reefs without a chart. Instead of constructing a new culture appropriate to a new world, many attempt to import and implant old ideas appropriate to other cultures and places.

Facing also the crack-up of its psycho-sphere, the adult is continuously searching means fitting to live with friendship, love, commitment, community and caring.

Dans un monde de changements rapides où la diversification et l'accélération dominent, sans trop d'éléments de continuité, l'adulte a l'impression de vivre de l'impuissance, de l'égarement ou encore de la confusion. Le sentiment de devoir vivre avec peu ou pas de référentiels, sans ancrages, constitue des situations non seulement de malaise mais aussi de misère chez plusieurs adultes et dans de nombreux groupes. Pour devenir moins démunis et plus proactifs dans l'identification leurs questions et dans les solutions à apporter, l'adulte a besoin d'assistance professionnelle pour apprender à changer, donc à apprendre.

It is possible to name three specific basic competencies needed to go through the personal and occupational experiences of life: capacity of reorientating, capacity of reframing, and capacity of refocusing. First of all, there is a need to identify directions and trends as some or many are confused, discontinued, complex, ambiguous, straight or well-known; so it is important to learning to think, to reflect, to analyze and to make choice. Secondly, there is a need to name and classify schemes of references, to identify their values, and what is true or false; so learning to reframe our actions in decoding and recoding and by formulating new hypotheses. Thirdly, there is a need for people to make decisions, to take risks for action avoiding error if possible but being able to reflect on and being conscious of their standpoints.

It is necessary to give an answer to these epsitemologic and ethic needs intending to develop competencies. Moreover it is useful to organize learning situations proper to develop some abilities in this sense and to do research for a better understanding of adult learning.

In a culture of warring specialisms, drowned in fragmented data and fine-toothed analysis, synthesis is not merely useful, it is crucial. Therefore it is imperious to go towards a blending power of experiences and expertise: a power of expertise which confront general laws to specific actions. We all know, for example, that dialogue is a key for vital society. Therefore an intergenerational discourse over core sociological, psychological, ecological and values issues should be implemented.

The future of adult education is rooted in a more or less disillusionment with the old institutions of all kind: school, labour, public organizations and family, a common recognition that the old system is now broken beyond repair. Intending the future may enter our lives as a friend, not as a burglar; it is of necessity to develop anticipatory learning instead of learning by shock. Anticipation is the major indicator of maturity, according to Vaillant. The viewpoint of Botkin and others concerning an innovative learning is expressed in the formula of anticipatory learning which implies an orientation that prepares for possible contingencies and considers long-range future alternatives.

Anticipatory learning prepares people to use techniques such as forecasting simulations, scenarios, and models. It encourages them to consider trends, to make plans, to evaluate future consequences and possible side-effects of present decisions, and to recognize the global implications of local, national regional actions.

For the formulation of an innovative knowledge in adult education, there are at least eight areas where research must be done or continued which could have a great influence on management of learning. These topics are the following: the actual and new trends and directions dealing with the impact of the changing population structure, the consumer movement, the broken forms of labour, the status of women, the political turbulence, the internationalization of the economy, and the mood of society toward education and ecology.

Moreover, any adult educator should be aware of the new patterns such as: the blending of part-time work, part-time study, and part-time leisure. We are going to or we are now experiencing this new mentality which consists of a blended life-plan in which education, work and leisure continue concurrently throughout life.

It is not necessary to agree with Adler who is insisting on the fact that only adults can be educated; but as we assist in the emergence of a complex and sophisticated service-centred society, the helping educational professions, or whatever the world used to talk about, should be developed.

In Previews and Premises, Toffler says:

> "Education and continuous education will be one of the most important industries of the Third Wave, more important than activities industry exportation."

Comments Prepared for Symposium on the Future of Adult Education in Canada

The Learned Societies
Canadian Society for the Study of Adult Education
Hamilton, Ontario
May 21, 1987

by
Teresa MacNeil
St. Francis Xavier University

It is especially good to be here to glimpse what is happening at CASAE. Congratulations on having come so far with this organization. And, in particular, for having brought the Journal successfully into the world.

The assignment for this symposium is ambitious to say the least. My view of the future is not especially sharp! But at least I can share with you my view of some of the opportunities we have to shape the future of adult education in Canada.

As a director of university extension I must acknowledge, first of all, the part of our programming world that is made up of credit courses and other formal courses, seminars, conferences, etc. which are the bread and butter of our budgets.

These are important and will continue to be the backbone of our programs. Indeed they will likely gain in importance. But I want to leave that category aside and talk about adult education as a vehicle for change: for shaping Canadian society. That notion of the role of adult education needs no explanation: it has been recognized for at least 75 years in this country.

My purpose is simply to stress the importance of that role as we deal with the much-heralded shift from the industrial to the information society. I am extremely concerned that our profession is not giving sufficient attention to the learning opportunities which dwell in the very fibre of the most pressing issues in our land. They are learning opportunities for the people who are confronted by the issues; and the trick for us is to be certain that learning is actually realized through those opportunities; that they are shifts in events as the result of deliberate, well-informed decisions to change.

To be concrete, I will refer to a few of the opportunities for adult education to be an instrument for change. Last June the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) - with much help from a broad range of voluntary groups, including this society, assembled an agenda for "building the social movement." The Task Groups working within the CAAE on that agenda include one group each for: Learning as it relates to Peace, Women, Local Economic Development, the Environment, Culture and Literacy.

And there are many examples on more local levels of efforts to change important social and economic situations through adult learning programs. Two examples from my current experience are: the development of support systems for worker-owned enterprises; and implementing a system for organizations of economic groups to plan, undertake coordinated action in relation to regional economic development.

And one might point to opportunities which present themselves as current issues; e.g., the Meech Lake Agreement and the upcoming Parliamentary vote on the Death Penalty. Time restrictions here dictate that I must move along. I will mention two very great-but surmountable barriers which must be overcome if adult education is to be recognized as a resource for social change.

The first is our extreme dependence on our institutions. James Fallows says it's a direct effect of "industrial life" which he says, "instilled subordination to large institutions in which collective effort is everything and the individual is nothing- the church, the military, the unions, the mills"

Given that most of us are intimately tied to one institution or another, it becomes very difficult to step out and help to create new forms which will enable our population to, in turn, create new forms through which to live more fully.

As an example of the strength of our institutions - a leader from a Nova Scotia district of the United Mine Workers Union lamented to me about workforce reductions because "his son could not look forward to finding a job in the mines." It didn't occur to me that he would ever want to! But I had forgotten the union leader is part of generations of effort to win better wages and working conditions through the union ticket. He wanted his son to inherit those benefits.

The second barrier to having systems for achieving adult learning through action on "burning" issues is our apparent inability to design and conduct the necessary systematic effort. I said "apparent inability." Somehow the policy makers and the political influentials do not know what the adult educator can achieve for them. We use weak language such as "learner participation" and "facilitation" as though they were ends rather than procedures. We talk about learning, when the concern is about the outcome of learning.

I found an example of our tendency to be vague in an Adult Education Journal article I read this morning: "In popular education and rural promotion projects, it is not generally possible to work with measurable and predetermined objectives." That's simply not true! We can at least predict that people will become more competent in certain specific ways.

Stephen Brookfield writes about how adult education is much too inclusive and must be much more rigorously defined. I agree!

In a time when our political masters place high value on jobs, we fail to help them see how we can assist. We can help make connections between people who have learned to be competent life-long learners, and the prospect that those people will create their own vibrant economy.

I make no judgement about whether we are in fact able to create a learning society. I think we are. My point is to underscore the fact that decision-makers see no connection between what we do and what they need. If adult education is to be important as a means to move us out of institutional subservience we will have to find ways to point out the relationship between what we do and what is seen to be necessary in our society. Now I appreciate the irony of that. But how else can we help to alter the course when we have insufficient funds and insufficient legitimacy to be taken seriously. We have to work with the institutions. It is possible to work for and with institutions without being completely subservient.

Adult education at its best is a "leading edge" activity. It achieves important societal change through learning. Being on the cutting edge we have no choice but to discover ways to engage learners and to find the necessary funding. Part of that task is to engage decision-makers. Another ironic feature of our reality is that once a need is popularly acknowledged it ceases to be on the "leading edge."

The extent to which adult education develops in the next 25 or so years depends very much on the extent to which we can succeed in shifting people away from institutionalized answers - through learning.

Contribution/remarks of Gordon Selman to opening panel of CASAE meeting
May 29 - Hamilton - on The Future of Adult Education in Canada

I want to identify several trends or characteristics of adult education in Canada in the next decade or so, as I see it.

1. There is every reason to expect that the field will continue to grow in Canada in the foreseeable future, as it has throughout our experience in the past. So many forces at work in our society - technical, social, demographic, etc. - are such that it would appear that adult learning and adult education will continue to expand, and become increasingly vital.
2. The nature of the field in terms of its dispersion throughout society will continue to be a prominent characteristic.
    - the "patternless mosaic" phenomenon will continue - many sponsors, settings, methodologies
    - the "invisible giant" phenomenon will continue. Although adult education is the largest, the giant sector of education, because of its decentralized, dispersed nature, the field will remain unknown to many, and we will continue to have to interpret the nature of the field to decision-makers and others.
3. Government policy for the foreseeable future will continue to place emphasis on those kinds of adult education which relate to making a living and strengthening the economy. This is imporatnt, of course, but government will continue to down-play/neglect other socially and personally relevant aspects of the field.
4. Continued and pronounced expansion of the role of proprietary organizations in the provision of adult education services. In many cases, such providers are at the leading edge of the technology/methodology of the field.
5. Continued professionalization of the field, with training/credential-related programs expanding, in the universities and elsewhere. At the same time, we will see an expansion in the role of volunteers in the field, both through the work of voluntary organizations, and as members of the "delivery team" in institution-based programs.
6. I expect to see an increasingly strident debate in the field - with perhaps increasingly pronounced divisions, organizationally and otherwise - between the social movement dimensions of adult education and the establishment, instituionalized sectors of the field. We will see a move towards a "popular education" sector of adult education in Canada, in the sense of that term in many Third World countries. It will function a step removed/ at arm's length from the establishment parts of the field, and will be frankly

directed towards social change. I foresee a more sharply divided field, with the present "balkanization" which has resulted from the proliferation of organizations of adult educators being reinforced by ever-stronger philosophical differences.

7. Finally, I foresee our moving towards an ever more effective international network in our field. With the assistance of the International Council for Adult Education and other instrumentalities, we will continue to come into closer contact with and learn more effectively from our colleagues in other parts of the world.

Gordon Selman
University of British Columbia

JOHN DEWEY DIALOGUES WITH AN ADULT EDUCATOR IN 1987.

A PLAY -READING PRESENTED TO THE 1987 CASAE CONFERENCE IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO.

BY THELMA BARER-STEIN and IAN VAN HEYST

ABSTRACT :

John Dewey's 1933 publication called "How We Think" is discovered by an adult educator in 1987. Blowing off the dust of the assumption that Dewey was just associated with the education of children, this dialogue begins with the premise that 'thinking' must be of importance to the educators of adults as well as of children. The adult educator enjoys an exhilarating exchange that touches on the differences between adults and children, the task of teaching and parenting, and the place of 'thinking' in learning. Enriched and intrigued, the adult educator wonders what other wisdom may have been overlooked in assuming that Dewey only spoke to teachers of children.

This presentation will be in the form of a 'play reading' with two participants. 'Dewey' will stay long enough to engage in discussion with the audience.

INTRODUCTION :

As is common in play-readings, both participants will be reading their lines from scripts in hand; movements and set are minimal.The scene is the educator's study. The time is a summer evening in 1987. For the benefit of the audience, an overhead screen to one side of the action displays a diagram-model of the adult educator's recent research: A MODEL OF THE LEARNING PROCESS, as this is central to the ensuing dialogue.

The scene opens with the eductaor standing before the overhead and noting aspects of the process:

T.B.S. : I think that the explanations of this model will be getting clearer as educators read not only my seminal paper in Studies in the Education of Adults (coming in October 1987) called: "Learning as a Process of Experiencing the Unfamiliar (Difference)",[1] but also when they note the particular aspects of Dewey's "Educative Process" and its congruency with this model of "Learning" as depicted in The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education". I called that paper : "Reflections on the Meaning of Learning : with John Dewey."[2] The discovery of John Dewey's old 1933 book entitled, How We Think , has certainly helped to corroborate my own findings and impress on me yet again the importance of linking related works.

(Educator walks slowly over to desk, sits down, and thoughtfully sorts through papers on her desk. Just then, a man , with grey hair and beard, enters the room, limping slightly and coughing. He stops and carefully studies the MODEL OF LEARNING.)

TBS (startled) Wait a minute. Who are you ? What are you doing here?

Dewey: I am John Dewey, and I was interested in...

TBS: Dewey? You are NOT John Dewey. Why he died more than 35 years ago. Besides, I've seen pictures of him and he had a small dark Hitler-like moustache and smoothly-combed grey hair. I read that he had fractured a hip when he was 91 and died of pneumonia that set in shortly after...

Dewey: Well, that picture of me that you saw in the encyclopedia was taken in the 1940's. People change you know.And yet (thoughtfully) some things stay the same. As you might recall, I was born in Burlington, Vermont. Those recollections seem particularly CLOSE today! (he chuckles)

TBS: What a coincidence! I had just been re-reading your book on How We Think.[3]

DEWEY: Ah yes of course. In our world we get reports on the things that interest us here. I can see that you have it all in the form of a sequential process and that may be a helpful way to understand not just LEARNING but also the crucial relationship between LEARNING and EDUCATING. (Dewey studies the model carefully.)

TBS: Most people seem to assume that your ideas were pertinent only to those "associated with the education of the very young"[4], but since I was able to clearly relate your educative ideas to each of these phases in my LEARNING PROCESS[5], and since educators seem to agree that " anyone of any age is capable of learning"[6] ...

DEWEY: (impatiently) Yes. Yes. There is no need for you to remind me of what I have already said and written--- and in my own words! But I see your point : for those adult educators who feel that my work is insignificant for Adult Education...

TBS: (eagerly) Yes. Yes. That is why I feel they need to grasp your work's relevance for the education of all, young and old.

DEWEY: I can see that the central part of your process is in phase four: "Confronting". I know you've already quoted me as saying, "as long as something glides smoothly along,there is no need for reflection; the familiar and the near do not excite. The origin of thinking is then, perplexity, doubt, confusion. Why, we might even say that thinking begins with a disturbance to one's equilibrium."[7]

TBS: And surely the tiniest infant and the most elderly person not only is capable of thinking, but also of experiencing those very perplexities that I have called "Confronting the Unfamiliar". (pointing to the depicted model)

DEWEY: Heaven knows I've much experience. I lived --and therefore 'experienced' -- life as you know it, for 93 years! That is exactly what we ground our best reflective thinking in : those experiences that are our own. I would say that the most significant influences on my own intellectual development came not just from books but from personal associations and practical experience, particularly in education[8] . After all, Alice (my dear first wife) and I had three sons and three daughters. The death of one son in infancy drew us to make a happy addition to our little family when we adopted a little Italian boy while on a trip to Italy.[9] Yes, I was terribly lonely after Alice died. It was almost 30 years later , I was only 87 at the time, that I met Roberta. She was a bright 42. We adopted two Belgian war orphans. Yes. Practical life experiences, perplexities, doubt. In such lies the foundation for reflective thinking, and as you've discovered too, it is the necessary step that leads to UNDERSTANDING which is the real goal of learning.

TBS: John, do you see any clear DIFFERENCES between adults and children that would have impact on their education and on how they learn?

DEWEY: "There are profound differences between the immature and the adult. (as you know, I said this in my 1933 book you have there) the external achievement resulting from an activity is a more urgent necessity for the adult and hence a more effective means of disciplining the mind than in the young child... the social status of the adult prescribes appropriate modes of thinking... the children's choice is often buffetted by arbitrary factors."[10]

But for all ages, we must be aware that practical and rote mechanical activity is merely blind and arbitrary if there is not an intellectual side of education consisting " in the wide-awake, careful, thorough habits of thinking."[11] Most importantly you know how I have pointed out over and over again that

'LEARNING IS LEARNING TO THINK' and that 'EDUCATING CONSISTS IN THE GUIDING OF THAT LEARNING"[12]

From my own life experience, both with my own children and with our elementary school at the University of Chicago,[13] I know that must be true of any age.But I have often referred to adult learning, you know that I have said, "that all adults would continue to learn throughout life and that earlier education had sown the seeds for the continuity of the learning process."[14]

TBS: Then it is really implicit in your writings that learning itself is cumulative, building on itself?

DEWEY: (slowly and thoughtfully) Yes, yes, learning is certainly cumulative. "We all seem to be unstable, chameleon-like; struggling to assimilate from each influence and yet striving to carry it forward in a way that is logically consistent with what has been learned from its predecessors."[15] You might recall tennyson's words in Ulysses :

"I am part of all that I have met" [16]

TBS: The goal of "guiding learning" then, seems to be one of helping to develop an individual towards increasing independence (or an understanding of interdependence?) and responsibility. But more essentially I believe it is for each person to be always reflectively questioning. Is that really what you meant by "How We Think"?

DEWEY: Yes. Yes. "How... We... Think... Don't you see, the "we" I was referring to meant all of humankind. Not just children. And not just adults the way you new-fangled "adult educators" separate yourselves. The important thing is for all educators to come to the realization that at best, they are only guiding the learning of any person. Like that proverbial horse, guide him to where the water is, but you can't make him drink it! Learning is the same.

TBS: Yes I meant to point out that in speaking of how we think you were purportedly talking to teachers about children. You were trying to give them all the aspectsof what thinking really means, its place in learning and how the teacher can stimulate it.

DEWEY: Sure. You already found that out. That paper you did in the new CASAE Journal on "Reflecting on the meaning of learning". And again, I appreciate that you quote me all over the place. (sighs) God, how many years it takes beyond recognition to finally becoming UNDERSTOOD! Now how many of your adult educator cohorts present here today actually realise that I was saying the same things depicted in your process of learning? (mumbling)Only I just didn't set them up in a sequence, in a model form...

TBS: But John, I didn't deliberately " set anything up". Don't you see that the model of the Learning Process over there emerged from the very real everyday experiences of an English Second Language teacher. She related her own crosscultural experiences to me, in response to my asking, "How did you learn to teach adults from differing cultures?"

DEWEY: (humph...humph) You really meant to find out how she learned. Period.

TBS: No! You don't understand (angry now) I thought I was going to gain a deeper understanding of the meaning of CULTURE.

DEWEY: All teaching is about culture, because all teaching is IN and ABOUT a PARTICULAR CONTEXT. THE CONTEXT OF EACH PERSON'S DAILY LIFE. THAT IS CULTURE.

TBS: Yes. You help me to recall Richard Palmer's words in speaking of Hans-George Gadamer's "historicality" :

> Tradition then, is not something in which we stand and through which we exist ; for the most part it is so transparent a medium that it is invisible to us --- as invisible as water to a fish. 17

I think then, too, that you would agree with my interpretation of the real relationship between culture and teaching : that they both seek to accumulate and communicate information, and they do so with the intended recipient being the LEARNER.

DEWEY: They. They. Teaching and culture aren't things. IT IS HUMANS WHO MAKE EACH WHAT EACH IS. That is why I directed most of my writing to teachers. Teachers are the educators, the one's with the materials and the skills. Teachers are also parents.

TBS: Teachers are also any other human being , of any age , from whom we gain the kind of knowing that brings us eventually to understanding : the discovery of personally relevant meaning. Perhaps it is any person at all to whom we get close enough to begin to notice differences...

DEWEY: Notice? I see, you mean like the beginning of your learning process there. You are speaking again about that initial AWARENESS ? Yes. Yes. (mumbling disgruntingly again..) Guess you got the idea all right. I was saying the same things in the 1920's and 30's....

TBS: Being Aware is just the beginning, the access, the opening door to a process of learning. See here on the model how one may move into the Observing phase and then into the Acting phase. These first three phases are the easy ones. Most of us move through these with little effort or even cognizance because they require so little effort from us. It implies 'doing what you are told to do'. It implies routine, mechanisation, repetition, memorization. It depicts compliancy and passivity; servility and unquestioned obedience and loyalty. What any teaching must aim for is to help move the individual past this superficial familiarity and security and comfort of the familiar into the effort of reflective questioning that offers the excitement of personally relevant meaning, of exciting inferrences...

DEWEY: Yes. This intensifies what we mean when we speak of the link not only between parenting and teaching but the relational link between humans. But a caution here. Some teachers, like some parents become AUTHORITARIAN instead of AUTHORITATIVE. They are reluctant to relinquish such roles. Is that still true today?

TBS: Sadly, yes, I think so. We are humans after all.

DEWEY: I know that my own " image of the industrial society was based on the conviction that this society reduced men to a state of passive acquiescence in external routines laid down for them... a good society would be one in which MEN ARE ACTIVE AGENTS, intelligently setting their own standards and participating freely and equally in the making of their common destiny."[18]

TBS: And when should such guided learning begin ?

DEWEY: "The schools must provide an environment... in contact with each other, students may recognise their common humanity."[19] But, " education should not cease when one leaves school".[20]

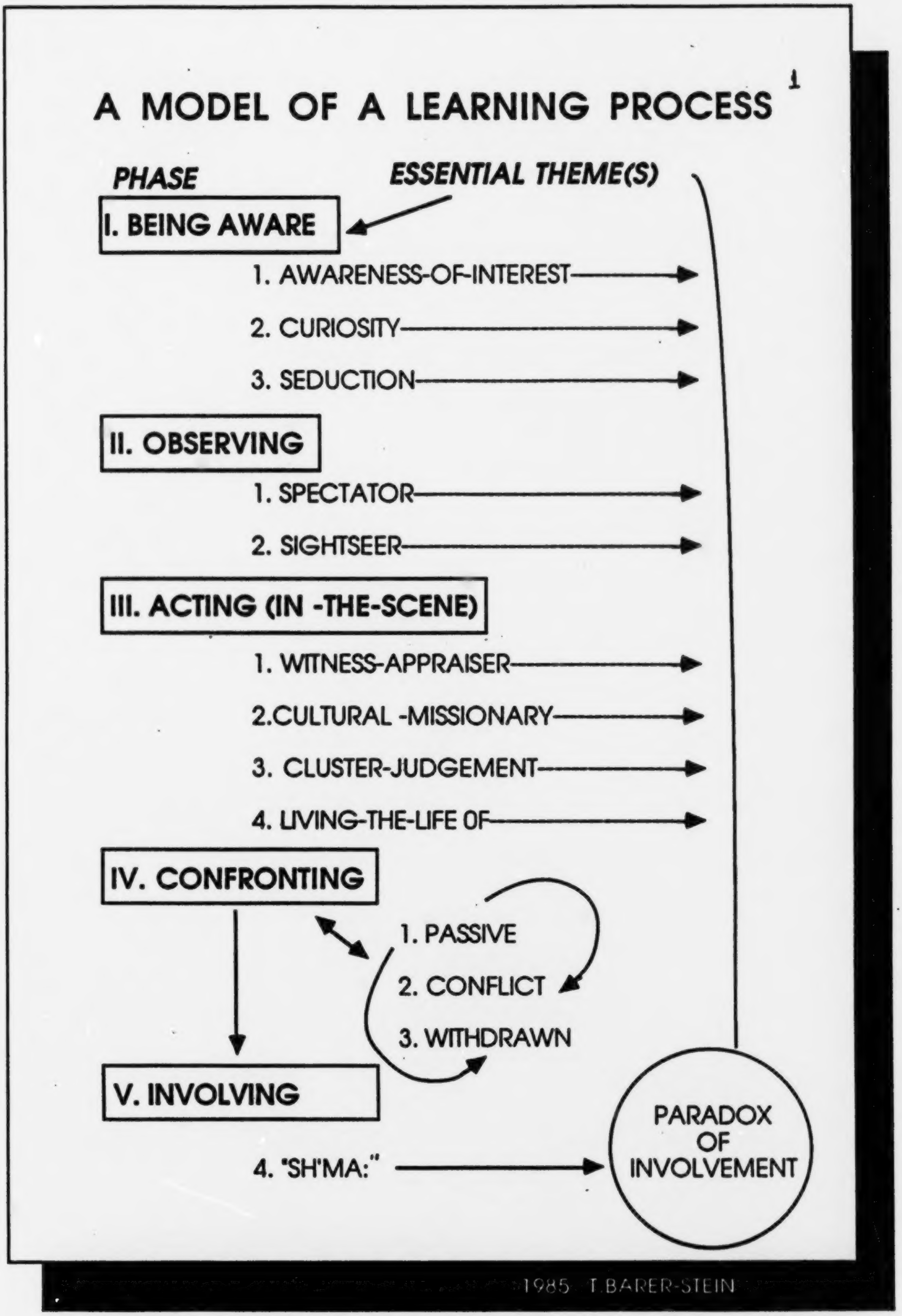
TBS: Then you are really saying that schooling just fits into a part of the lifecycle. Parents do the earliest teaching or "guiding the learning " and gradually other humans do too. School years are likely the most formal part of such a lifecycle . Teaching and learning intertwine through all of life and always within the special and particular context of each life : within it's CULTURE. I suppose we each, as human beings, are always not only in some aspect of a learning process regarding some special interest, but more importantly, we are always in a flux between being learners and teachers ourselves!

DEWEY : (standing up now slowly) Wasn't it Chaucer who said, "...and gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche" ? [21] I am certain that "gladly" enccompasses all that we might speak of today as being excited, enthusiastic, and as representing the interconnectedness of teaching/learning. (Dewey's previous indifference, then growing interest now peaks in excitement) I have been saying it all along. You just woke up. You put it into a process..(He walks off still studying the model , his back to the audience.)

TBS: (lost in thought) What other wisdoms may have been overlooked in our hasty assumption that John Dewey spoke only to teachers of children ? In dialoguing with Dewey's texts, I have reaffirmed my own work and found its place in the treasured traditions of the past. Searching through relevant literature, especially those of reflective analysis of research findings, may be more useful than a literature search based on pending hypotheses.

Why, what is this? (picking up a book) John Dewey left behind this book , and here is an opening quote...

> ... if we once start thinking, no one can guarantee where we shall come out...Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril, and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place.[22]


A MODEL OF A LEARNING PROCESS [1]
PHASE
ESSENTIAL THEME(S)
I. BEING AWARE
1. AWARENESS-OF-INTEREST
2. CURIOSITY
3. SEDUCTION
II. OBSERVING
1. SPECTATOR
2. SIGHTSEER
III. ACTING (IN -THE-SCENE)
1. WITNESS-APPRAISER
2.CULTURAL -MISSIONARY
3. CLUSTER-JUDGEMENT
4. LIVING-THE-LIFE OF
IV. CONFRONTING
1. PASSIVE
2. CONFLICT
3. WITHDRAWN
V. INVOLVING
4. "SH'MA:"
PARADOX OF INVOLVEMENT
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Please note :

The authors would be very pleased to receive the critical comments and suggestions of readers of this paper as well as Barer-Stein's papers in Studies in the Education of Adults (October 1987) and The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (May 1987). Address to the authors :

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Family Awakening and Parental Learning

Andrew G. Blackwell

May 31, 1987

Presentation to the 1987 Conference of CASAE/ACEEA

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1. Introduction

Summarizing the general objectives and principles of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka, A.T. Ariyaratne writes,

> . . . we reached consensus that the objective of learning in Sarvodaya should be the Awakening of Human Personality to the fullest, in the context of the Awakening of the Family, the Awakening of the Village Community and the Urban Community, the National Community, and the World Community. (Ariyaratne, 1986, p. 114)

Ariyaratne is living and working in a millenial Buddhist tradition in which the word "awakening" signifies entry into a superior state of consciousness and participation in a global harmony.

In "modern" progressive circles, it is not fashionable to pay attention to the first context in which Ariyaratne says the awakening is to take place: the context of the family. The family, its name, language and symbols have been appropriated, almost without challenge, by conservative, often reactionary and usually "fundamentalist", organizations. Occasionally progressives have analysed the family in order to attack it. They have rarely sought ways to 'awaken' it.

I used to think that an equitable redistribution of economic and political power was the only social goal worthy of commitment. Slowly, however, I have come to see that child-raising is the most important biological activity of our species and that our political and economic systems are themselves products of character structures and metaphysical assumptions which are deeply influenced, if not determined, by the ways in which we are brought up. I am still interested in the equitable redistribution of power, but I now want to study the way power flows in the home at least as much as I want to know how it is distributed in the marketplace and in the legislative assembly.

I am an adult learner, part of an informal network made up of my children's friends' parents. Some years ago I began to keep notes on the difficulties I encountered in child-raising and to compare them with the experiences reported to me by other parents I know. Later I recorded a number of interviews with others in that tiny minority of Toronto's parents who have chosen to place their children in public alternative schools. As a group, the parents of children in Alternative Public Elementary Schools have a much higher than average degree of commitment to active intervention in our children's education. This may not be exactly what Ariyaratne means by "the Awakening of the Family", but such commitment does make us particularly conscious of our familial barriers to the "Awakening of Human Personality to the fullest". (cf. Levin, 1984)

Others' difficulties--like my own--seemed to derive more from our own childhoods, from our relationships with our children's other parents, and from the demands of our jobs, our neighbours, and of schools than from direct experience with our children. One mother said that she couldn't help wishing a lot of us were in charge of raising gerbels instead of children. She was referring to what could be called the obstacles in the way of familial "awakening". In my reflection on the daily life of my own family I had to re-examine my whole personal history, and then much of the history of our culture in order to understand why our options seem so limited. As I discover how little a reasonably intelligent and interested father like myself is able to accomplish in the role , I'm afraid I've come to believe that even the most aware of us aren't too far away from gerbelhood. It will take a long time and a lot more work before, as families, we are able to exercise conscious direction in the making of our species.

2. The Family Construction of Daily Life

One of my friends described his hopes for his son this way:

> . . . I got some really good breaks from my parents. But now, I'm sitting with tools my parents didn't have. And I feel like I have an opportunity to give my son a headstart to whatever he wants to do . . .

Our territory is the home. When our children are small, the home is their world. Filled with the excitment of their explorations, we "childproof" our homes, trying to give them space to move. We want their inner beings to unfold and so we pay infinite attention to their expressions, trying to divine their meanings and satisfy their desires. We are there to support and accompany as they explore the world. At least that is the image we like to have of ourselves.

In my memory are scenes in which I hold a child up on my shoulder, and let her reach, see, touch and explore what she couldn't otherwise reach. It is a good image. It has been my official image of the facilitator father.

It intoxicated me and for many years I didn't see how obviously I was determining the parametres of her life. The things I held her up to see may have been chosen by her pointing hand, but they were chosen from what I had put on the walls, or from the existing objects in the neighbourhood I had obliged her to live in, or from the place I'd taken the family for vacation. I could be as facilitating as I wished within the apparent relationship but before and behind that scene, I had made a lot of difference in what the stage looked like.

In effect, our lives, our locations our prior choices, and our selves construct our children's reality. Our decisions surround our children, whether we like it or not. When we like it, as in my memories of being guided by a child perched on my shoulders, we acknowledge our role and are free to recall the role our parents played for us. In these scenes I felt like my father, encouraging and supporting me in my efforts to do whatever I wanted. Thus my friend connects the "good breaks" received from his father with the "headstart" he can give his son. Thus I remember my father's hand, I remember holding two of his fingers while I walked, when my son holds mine. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Reiss, 1981)

When we don't like the way we construct reality for our children, we see ourselves as damned, prisioners of a repetition compulsion or a karma, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth (hundredth) generation. The flip side of my image of being a willing pair of stilts is my memory of late night battles of the will, as I pace the floor with a child on my shoulder, knowing she'll cry the minute I set her down if she isn't firmly asleep, swearing I can wait her out, deciding to walk two hundred lengths of the hallway before attempting to lay her down, and feeling hard and determined, like my mother when she was angry, all the while. In this memory I am the angry victim of my own availability and I am *bound* I'll have a stronger will than my kid.

In 1973, in one of the poorest shanty-towns in Caracas, we asked people (who--according to Maslow, ought to be concerned only about getting shelter, food and clothing) to identify the topic they were most interested in talking about. Overwhelmingly the response came back: "how can I do a better job raising my kids?" In the months that followed we discovered that, most of the time, people already had a pretty good idea of the sort of thing they'd like to accomplish: they weren't asking what should be done so much as how to be able to do it. One woman symbolized this for me when, in the midst of a discussion about corporal "punishment" she said, "I know I'm doing damage to my kids. I know I'm killing their curiosity and interest and even their trust in me. I sure don't want to hit them. But how can I stop?" (cf. Richards, 1985)

If the reality we know how to transmit is sufficiently unacceptable we may try to pretend it is possible to transmit nothing at all. One mother I interviewed had become desperate after her fifteen-year-old daughter failed grade nine, got picked up for shoplifting, and began to stay out regularly until two or three in the morning, taking a salad of different drugs. While she learned to talk with her daughter and to lay down and enforce some minimal rules like a weeknight curfew, she sought to understand how her extreme inability to maintain any sort of structure for the girl's life had arisen in the first place. She considered the most important element to be her own lack of alternative to the overwhelming and predetermined code of behaviour that had surrounded her as a child. She is Jewish and had been raised within fairly strict orthodox practice. When she rejected the food laws and family ceremonies, she tried to let "inner freedom" for her child take their place. In practice this meant that "I never said 'no' to her about anything." Until she began a serious conscious effort to take apart and reconstruct herself, the values and attitudes she had received in childhood seemed to be an all-or-nothing option for her.

Paolo Freire has taught us that the way surrounding reality shapes our character doesn't depend very much on the values and attitudes of those who sustain that reality. Nor do we develop transitive or intransitive relations with the world because it is to our liking or not. What matters is the degree to which reality is sensitive to our efforts to create meanings and to act upon them. Do we engage with our children in an active process of making sense out of the world? Are our families learning teams? Making people -- in the Freirian sense of making historical actors -- is a familial possibility to the extent that we can use our daily life together to explore the social world that surrounds us and the relational world we constitute. (cf. Satir, 1972; Friere, 1973; Rogers, 1977)

Exploratory action among ourselves and within our social mileau characterizes a family that is becoming a learning team. There is an extraordinary source of hope for our species' future in the simple recognition that such exploration is open to us. With such hope we can envision our species in control of its social, economic and political institutions rather than in their control. Yet the very strength of that hope can fuel our desolation when we discover rigidities surrounding us or within ourselves – rigidities which are deaf, blind and unresponsive to our best intentions and concerted efforts. (cf. Urwin, 1984)

Within the confines of the overwhelming power of the institutions that shape what we call modern civilization, our families control and constitute the space that we first experience as reality. How we deal with them and how they deal with us forge habits and character traits which we carry into all our other experiences of reality. The individual human meets society in, as and through the family. Reflective action undertaken by families may explore our relational, moral and spiritual selves and our social, economic and political capabilities simultaneously. (cf. Anshen, 1959; Hall, 1981; Kegan, 1982)

Most of us, however, were not lucky enough to grow up in families awakened to themselves as conscious learning teams. Most of us experienced what came from our parents as "the truth". We had to accept and live by that truth or try to reject it and create our own. Unawakened families may be disconnected batteries charged with the accumulated resentment and wisdom of those beaten down by the exploitative channelling of power within the family itself. One woman I interviewed described the sexist role suffered and imposed by her mother and what she herself suffered and learned as a result:

Lorna: . . . she didn't even have a chance to be a wonderful person. All she had was babies. . . .

Andrew: What did she die of?

Lorna: Childbirth. Seventh baby. And it died too. . . .

Andrew: This was in Cape Breton?

Lorna: Uh huh. I was doing all the housework. I resented her. I resented her a lot. 'Cause I was still young, you know, and all of a sudden I wasn't allowed to wear pants 'cause I was thirteen; I was now a young lady, I had to wear dresses now. And it was a *big* year, of my life, you know, like I was just turning thirteen. And all of a sudden, *wham*, it was like a curtain came down one day: "You no longer can wear slacks or pants." And I said, "Why?" "Cause now you are a young lady and you have to wear dresses. You also have to bake," You know, Saturday morning was, like, do the housework, bake, cook, look after kids, iron . . . you know, 15, 16 shirts for all these men, you know? They weren't men, they were boys, but they all went to church, right? And they all wore their little white shirts and I had to iron them, right?. . . Like all of a sudden I turned of an age where I was no longer allowed to play. Plus she . . . prepared me that if anything happened I was responsible for the rest of the kids. Yeah. But yet I felt

> that . . . Like I think too it prepared me to understand what people go through in life so that I could reach out to them and deal with them on a different level, another understanding level, like Mickey and Liz and many others that I've come across in my life. You know what I mean? Like I think all of this was part of my process of understanding pain, myself, to be able to stand up to fight to survive. . . . To, to understand what it takes to survive, in, when you can be down and out, and to understand these people out there, these women out there who are, are, down and out, for years, who can't get up again.

Unlike the social institutions that encircle us or sell to us, our families are biological institutions. They may be asleep, but they pulse with life. History is filled with tales of the deeds of members of families whose explorations of social, economic and political space were undertaken as collective learning endeavors. Awakened families may be pockets of power. (cf. Foucault, 1977; Janssens, 1983)

The measure of their power will be found, first of all, in their relation to those social institutions created by the modern state to deal with individuals without the mediation of the family. At the same time, any self-directed social action undertaken by a family will immediately enlarge the space occupied by the internal relations of the family.

3. The Socially Surrounded Family.

The typical nature of our relation to state social institutions has been described by Teresa MacNeil as "extreme dependence"[1] . We can get a glimpse of the extremity of our dependence by comparing the social passivity of late twentieth century North Americans and Europeans with the levels of protest, resistance and non-formal organizational creation presently visible in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Throughout the so-called Third World, for slightly over thirty years, nation-states have almost universally preached schooling as the way to modernize and develop. Yet their school systems have universally failed not only to provide spaces for all children but also to guarantee modern sector jobs even for those few who make it through the system to the top. The rapid spread of the ideas, methods and ideology of "popular education" across Latin America and through Africa and much of Asia, is symptomatic of many things. One of them is the growing perception of state run compulsory school systems with uniform curricula as inept and alien. Another is the widespread continuing existence of "schools" of a different sort, locally controlled and related to aims--often religious, but also technical and professional--that are not identifiable as "modernization". A new international South-South ideology, that pervades the popular education ethos and that justifies and supports such regional and local traditions and suggests ways to help them live and recover their possibilities for autoctonous development is useful to a very wide variety of people and interests. (cf. Dore, 1975; Freire, 1978; Caldwell, 1982; Richards, 1985; ICAE, 1986)

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[1] This reference is taken from my own notes on a presentation by MacNeil to the 1987 Conference of CASAE

In our modern industrial societies no such wide-spread movement exists. Those of us who devote significant portions of our time and energy to the creation and maintenance of public alternative schools feel as though we are continually racing against the current. It would be so much easier just to let the state raise our children and to accept the role of assistant truant officers whose only job is to get our kids to school on time.

We are caught in what Jacques Donzelot calls "a suspension" in which the family floats in an ever thicker but never stable web of relations with "social" institutions that have come to dominate the everyday experience of all of us who live in modern societies. In the modern family we live under what has been an increasing pressure to serve the definitions and goals of medical, educational, legal and philanthropic institutions. Do we acquiesce to this pressure willingly, unwillingly, or not at all? To what extent has it already determined our perception of reality, our personalities, our self-awareness? Are we its passive objects, its active allies, its secret opponents, its potential transformers? (cf. Foucault, 1977; Donzelot, 1980)

According to Christopher Lasch we can barely confront these questions because we are the victims of a progressive sentimental mystification of our families as "havens in a heartless world". We haven't even noticed while our supposed citadel of personal power has become the prostitute of a consumer society, already violated to the core and deathly scared of all real passion. (cf. Lasch, 1977)

Lasch argues that we have buried intra-familial sexuality and with it the capacity of the family to transfer culture to the new generation. As a result each succeeding generation has internalized less and less of our specific parents and more and more of the surrounding institutional web for which they (and now we) have become agents. The child's loved ones have stepped aside. And left the child without the strength of having a person or two to love and to hate. Personality is left unformed and creative energy goes underground for life.

If this is so, we should find some historical record of ever-diminishing resistance to the state's entrance into the business of child-raising. And we do. Here, for example, is Hansard's record of Thomas Burt, secretary to the Northern Union of Mechanics' Institutes speaking in the British House of Commons on August 5, 1876:

> He regretted that so much had been said in favour of giving education to the working man to make him a more valuable money-making machine, rather than as a means of developing what was best and noblest in his nature and character. . . the feeling of independence was very strong among the working classes . . . many of the calumnies levelled against the working classes were entirely untrue . . . .(Hansard, Aug. 5, 1976; col. 583)

The next words offered by this speaker coming from the collective struggle for working-class learning and respectibility through working-class institutions suggest the existence of an independent working-class educational culture far richer than anything Church, chapel and school-board were offering:

> Instead of teaching children what to think, they should teach them how to think: they should try to improve their minds, so that they could think for themselves, rather than load their memories with the thoughts and ideas of other men. . . . in time . . . this handing over of the education of the people to clerical control, and mixing it up with theological instruction, would be abandoned, and . . . the work of education would be taken in hand by the people themselves. (col. 584-5)

Burt's voice echoed harsher words outside the House of Commons. A handbill circulated in one part of London in 1874 advised:

> When you are asked any questions about your children . . . give this answer 'I have nothing to say to you', and get rid of the inquisitor as soon as possible. There is no clause in the Elementary Education act which compels any person to answer any question put by the School Board or their agents. Never let them come into your home, but speak to them outside. Some of them walk into your rooms, if they do so, order them out; and if they refuse to go after being told, put them out, if you are strong enough. (Quoted in Hurt, 1979; p.156)

86 years later, Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden echoed Burt's hope for education "taken in hand by the people themselves":

> The educational system we need is one which accepts and develops the best qualities of working-class living, and brings these to meet our central culture. Such a system must partly be *grown* out of common living, not merely imposed on it. (1962; p. 224)

Jackson and Marsden interviewed working-class parents who told them that "school had always seemed irrelevant to the central business of living":

> 'You see in them days schooling was different. . . . You learnt to read and you learned to write and to do figures up and to take them away, and that was that! You never thought about anything else except work. Work was a wonderful thing. It was a wonderful thing to be a workman and earning a wage, and that's all you thought of. . . . So I was right glad when I left school. I thought that was the finish of that, and I was right glad to get a job.' (pp.60-1)

Fifteen years after that interview about pre-1921 experience, Paul Willis published an account which shows that one hundred years after the 1876 debate on compulsory schooling, a counter-school culture which continues to resist the imposition of schooling is still being passed on from father to son.

> (My father) doesn't want me to cheek the teachers, but he wouldn't want me to be a wanker, sitting there working, you know . . . My old man called me an ear'ole once, in the second years, playing football and comin' to the school. It upset me it did, I was surprised (. . .) I'd like to be like him, you know, he can't stand no bull, if anybody tries it on him, he hates it. . . . I'd love to be like him, he's a great bloke." (Willis, 1977; pp. 74-5)

Six years ago Stephen Humphries (1981)[2] completed an oral history study of English working class childhood and youth. He found that the resistance that appears on the official records when parents actually refused to send their children to school is the tip of an iceberg. There is no room here to reproduce the voices that give eloquence and conviction to Humphries' book. The major points can be simply stated.

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[2] See, also, Higdon, 1917; Jackson, 1968; Edwards, 1974; Roberts, 1976; Rubinstein, 1977; Firth, 1977; Wood, 1985.

First, children and their parents were insulted and angered by the school curriculum's ideology of religion, imperialism and competitive individualism. (1981; pp. 28-61) *Second*, the degree of physical coercion used by teachers and approved by the system as a whole may have eventually silenced much of the reaction to the curriculum, but it also catalyzed widespread alienation of the children from the school system as such and was often so great as to provoke violence from parents against particularly ruthless teachers. (pp. 62-89)

Third, school strikes were a regular occurence and on at least two occasions they assumed nation-wide epidemic proportions. (pp.90-120) *Fourth*, the resulting alienated attitude of the schoolchildren gave rise to the cultural institution of 'larking about' which clearly survived until Willis' study in the 1970s. 'Larking about' was a way of making fun of the supposed educational environment by constructing elaborate practical jokes or conspiring to bewilder the "authorities" with outlandish, light-hearted, behaviour. (pp. 121-49) *Finally*, the reformatory institutions which lay just beyond the frontier of larking about in state schools were, in fact, an ever visible threat of full scale ostracism and repression that defined the limits of working-class resistance to educational imposition. (pp.150-238)

Humphries' material opens up the world of working class resistance to state schooling to reveal values that go unrecognized in the records left by the ruling classes. Echoes of such values exist, however. As the assistant commissioner who surveyed Durham and Northumberland for the Newcastle Commission reported in 1861, working class parents had a coherent idea of their own of what schooling *ought* to be like:

> Time for school attendance is spared only with a view to its being preparation for work. Parents have no idea that there is any advantage in children spending so many years at school if the same amount of learning can be acquired in a shorter time. In short, they regard schooling, not as a course of discipline, but only as a means of acquiring reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, and knitting, as a preparation for the main business of life - earning a living. (Quoted in Hurt, op. cit., p. 31)

On the basis of comments like this, Hurt concludes that "While their children were at school, parents wanted their money's worth in the shortest possible time." (p. 32) It is now clear that this parental demand was based on real experience of the possible. In Humphries' words,

> local networks of dame schools, common day schools and private adventure schools . . . persisted throughout the nineteenth century and, by the 1860s, were providing an alternative education for approximately one-third of all working-class children. (p. 88)

The loyalty of parents to these schools and their eventual elimination by the state, are taken by

Humphries to demonstrate that the working-class parents and children he studied

> . . . must be seen to have been involved in a fierce class-struggle over the form of social relationships that were to prevail in schools. Their resistance was rooted in a powerful residual tradition that found expression in the small private school and clung to the belief that learning and work should spring from the needs of the individual, the family and the community, not the authoritarian demands of an essentially bureaucratic institution. (p. 89)

These small private working class schools were attended by at least one third, and perhaps up to two thirds of the English working classes before they were effectively, though slowly, outlawed in 1876. They have been brilliantly studied by Phil Gardner (1984). In such schools groups of children ranging from infants to fourteen-year-olds came and went within vaguely defined and flexible hours. They usually met in the home of the teacher who, five out of six times, was a woman. She assigned them individualized tasks, according to the subjects their parents requested and paid for: reading first, then writing and sewing, then arithmetic. She often worked on other productive or household tasks herself. Many learned to read without learning to write. There were history and geography in the form of stories told by the teacher, but these were not considered real subjects like reading, writing, sewing and arithmetic.

Certainly there was no pretension of changing the character and the morals of the children and their parents. As one of the members of the Children's Employment Commission reported in 1843:

> Very few (mistresses) seemed to think it was part of their duty to instruct the children in morals . . . One in particular insisted with much warmth, that to teach morals was the duty of the parents, not hers. (1984; p. 164)

Students who had attended some of the few such schools that survived into this century told Gardner about life inside them:

> It was a smallish room, yes . . . It was pleasant and comfortable . . . I certainly regarded it as a house with a school in it. It certainly had a more homely atmosphere. . . . she wasn't very hard . . . she used to keep order but . . .she was never very hard, and . . . quite pleasant . . . yes . . . The Council School was harder, yes. She was a softer person I would have said than the people who taught in the State . . . . (pp. 214-5)

> we had quite a good education there. She was quite a good teacher . . . I mean, we shouldn't have stayed there if she hadn't have been . . . she was kind and we could go to her and ask her anything, you know, and we weren't afraid of her. . . . I was very happy . . . I didn't want to leave. . . . . It is difficult after so many years and because I was very young to assess how good the education was. Certainly I learned to read at a very early age – I could read reasonably fluently when I left Miss Besant's . . . One of my abiding memories was that it was a very happy place, and I know I was very upset when it closed. (pp. 215-7)

We often imagine that "good", child-supportive, families are an elite, available only to the most educationally sophisticated. My sketch of the history of working-class resistance to state schooling in England has been intended to show that alternatives to the huge people-making institutions of the modern state may be attractive to very many families far removed from the miniscule intellectual psycholanalyzed elite. Consider, for example, this "image of the young literate scholar, conveying the fruit of his or her dearly-won skill to the rest of the family" provided by a 19th century private working class schoolmaster writing about what Gardner eulogizes as "the working- class private classroom -- a true extension of the domestic environment . . .

> I likes 'em to read well. It's a good thing for 'em at home. A little girl as reads clear and pleasant like, can read to 'em at home, whiles they's all at work round the candle, on a winter's night; and it makes work go on light and quick like; and all's cheerful and happy." (p. 179. The quotation comes from *Recollections of John Pounds* by Henry Hawkes, published in 1884.)

4. Families as learning teams.

Although our modern public alternative schools are not such "true extensions of our domestic environments", involvement in them does expand the time and space occupied by family in our daily lives. What do we do when we enlarge our roles in our childrens' lives? What goals do we have?

After discovering that, as a father, I had a lot of power whether I admitted it or not, it was a just a medium sized step to become conscious of the parametres that I wanted to put in place, and a small one to announcing them clearly, and putting them there, in broad daylight, for my teenage daughter to deal with.

I realized that I wanted to talk openly with my daughter. I wanted to accompany her in her decisions. But I also wanted her to take her own commitments seriously. I wanted her to be open and honest with me and the rest of the people around her. I wanted her to learn to reflect on her experience. I wanted her to slow down in her breakneck rush to experience everything all at once and to learn what I consider to be the essential planetary speed limit: one day at a time. I wanted her to try to do well in each of her undertakings. I wanted her to allote time to her brother and sisters and to give them attention as serious as that she always gave to her latest new sixteen or twenty year old friend. I wanted her to use her home as a space to be with her friends. I wanted her to recognize and take advantage of her special experience straddling two cultures. I wanted her to continue to develop her insight into her environment and to learn to understand and use, for harmony, her power in that environment. Above all I wanted her to live in peace, free from greed, and able to share with joy.

As I admitted and observed my goals for her, I realized that they were personalized and time-bound. They are not all the same goals I have for my other children. Nor are they the same goals I had for her two years before or that I have two years later. They were, in effect, an explicit statement of the previously implicit determinants of the way I use my power. Their explicit statement makes visible whatever differences exist between my intentions, my daughter's own, and the values of the surrounding social institutions. Hopefully, such visibility facilitates dialogue.

Ariyaratne writes from Sri Lanka:

> If our present learning environment is dominated by amoral and immoral influences like permissiveness, consumerism, laissez faire market forces, debased cultural patterns, and so on, no amount of schooling or sheltered family life can prevent assimilation by the adolescent or the young adult of knowledge, skills, and attitudes in warped and degenerate form . . . . Hence, the content of learning must be such that it liberates and humanizes the individual in the direction of an ideal. (p. 123)

Our families have only the "debased cultural patterns" of modern marketing to dialogue with, unless we are ready and willing to articulate our own ideals in sufficiently clear and intelligible form for our children to recognize, use, and go beyond them. Such articulation is scarey. It means coming out in the open, and allowing our own contradictions to be visible, risking our children's rejection of our ideals. We don't determine the whole program we transmit to our kids, nor, probably, even a very big piece of it. Yet we can make an effort to assure that there is, in the family, an openness and consciousness about the values and perspectives with which we construct that part of the program we *are* able to determine. (cf. Kegan, 1982)

Freire and Rogers remind us of the importance of transparent personal presence. If we hope to help others learn to trust themselves, we must trust them with our selves. We are as families, together, for quite a long time. Events mark our family lives. Some stand out. The family history of Lorna (my friend whose story is quoted in the second section of this article) veered around the death of her mother. Her daughters' family history, so far, is clearly marked by their mother's divorce and emergence into a sense of self worth. Mine was about religion and morality while moving through four very different communities. The events and themes that we help incarnate for our children can be prisons, or material with which they can grow. The way we change, the way we process changes, or the way we don't, are visible to our children. If we are explicit about what we want, if we listen, and learn to experiment, our changes may become visible to us, and accesible to dialogue. Then, as we grow up and grow old, together, we may become learning teams.

Child-rearing based on trusting our children with our selves, admitting our own confusion and bewilderment, and becoming learning teams, may be a revolution within the "modern" family. That just such a revolution is not only possible but also prescribable and absolutely necessary is the central thrust of the work of the psychoanalyst, Alice Miller[3]. She describes, in detail, the mainstream bourgeois Western European tradition of child abuse (diversely called breaking the will, beating out the devil, spanking, and discipline) which she ascribes to a powerfully distorted adult sexual relation with children that has been repeatedly and traditionally sadistic. She attributes the internalization of parental figures as powerful objects of love and hate to simple realism on the part of children subjected to parents who take out on them the repressed agony received from their parents.

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[3] This sketch of Miller's thought is taken from both from her study of "hidden cruelty in child-raising" in For Your Own Good, (1983) and from her clarification of her divergence from Freud's later thought in Thou Shalt Not Be Aware, (1984). It may be of interest that she feels that Freud himself contradicted his early findings reported in Aetiology of Hysteria (1897) because he didn't have an analyst and couldn't admit to the cruelty of his own parents.

Thus she rejects the primacy of the Oedipal complex and declares the supposed inquenchable infantile desire for sexual possession of the parents to be a figment of Freud's imagination designed to defend the parents from anyone becoming aware of their sadism. Her prescription for a way out is not a new sort of child-raising, but an end to child-raising as a pedagogical intention and its replacement by the sort of respect for children we once learned we were supposed to give to our parents.

This prescription involves a transparent adult presence with the child. It concords well with Kegan's postulate of a genetic program for self-evolution and it implies a change in direction in the flow of power within the family. If the power flow can change in direction, the family is potentially a very different sort of institution than it has been so far. It could become the channel through which children's creativity creates new culture. (cf. Kegan, op. cit.)

Miller's program for personal liberation over the course of a few generations' conscious efforts to reverse the power flow in the family is also intended as a program for establishing world community and peace. An elaboration of this connection between the oneness of each one and the whole of humanity as one is found in the work of another disciple of Freud's, Robert Assaglioli. The personal psychosynthesis that forms the basis of his school of clinical practice is but one step in the realization of the inter-personal and global psychosynthesis of humanity as a whole.

> Each individual . . . is included in, and forms a constituent part of, various human groups and groups of groups, in the same way in which a cell is a tiny part of an organ within a living organism. Therefore individual psychosynthesis is only a step towards inter-individual psychosynthesis. . . . the *psychosynthesis of Humanity* (From Psychosynthesis: Individual and Social, 1965, pp.5 & 9; quoted in Horowitz, 1984; p. 182)

Assaglioli's postulate for personal clinical practice is that the self already exists even while it simultaneously comes into being. As Kegan and Roby Kidd have both pointed out, when we see the verb in the noun, "be-ing" is synonymous with becoming. The postulate for humanity as a whole is that we are already united even as we try to unite.[4]

The process, however, is long and necessarily inter-generational. Horowitz asks therapists "What if we thought globally while working with a single individual?"(p. 182) A more general question for the human species is "What if we thought globally while raising a single child?" A new vision may be upon us (in Buber's language a vision of an *I-Thou* relationship with our children) but as students of adult learning we realize that we take a long time to learn ourselves into our visions. We must re-educate and re-form our attitudes, our habits, and the institutions that determine us. We can each do some of this with our individual selves in a lifetime. As a whole humanity be-ing, however, we have to prepare for a long haul of some generations. (Gandhi, 1908; Buber, 1958.)

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[4] I am indebted to Don Brundage for pointing out Kidd's use of this idea.

No one realized this better than Wilhelm Reich. Describing his speech to co-workers startled by the appearance of "emotional plague" among the very staff of the Orgonomic Infant Research Center, he says,

> They were told to step out of the job if they could not adjust to the slow toiling efforts required, with no awards to be expected. They would have to get rid of their adherence to erroneous public opinion. They would also have to become critical of the usual goings-on in the realm of child-rearing. This was no job for scared or suave little academicians. It was the toughest job ever taken on by physicians or educators. (1984; p. 88)

Nor has anyone been more categorical than Reich in a statement of what the task in respecting children is all about:

> After the antisocial in the human animal has been created, the fight against it then becomes hopeless if authoritarian moralistic demands are employed. Moralism only increases the pressure of crime and guilt, and never gets at or can get at the roots of the problem. DON'T SUPPRESS NATURE IN THE FIRST PLACE, THEN NO ANTISOCIAL DRIVES WILL BE CREATED AND NO COMPULSION WILL BE REQUIRED TO SUPRESS THEM. WHAT YOU SO DESPERATELY AND VAINLY TRY TO ACHIEVE BY WAY OF COMPULSION AND ADMONITION IS THERE IN THE NEWBORN INFANT READY TO LIVE AND FUNCTION. LET IT GROW AS NATURE REQUIRES, AND CHANGE YOUR INSTITUTIONS ACCORDINGLY. (p. 44) [The emphasis is Reich's.]

Reich was speaking as a professional and fanatic researcher, tracing his "thin red line" as far into human biology as it would lead him. Milder versions of his vision have surfaced occasionally through the modern period in professional educators and physicans as diverse as Godwin, Simón Rodríguez, Tolstoi, Maria Montessori, Ferrer, Neill, Illich, Freire and many others. One such voice is a fictional professor created by Doris Lessing. He goes crazy (as some say Reich did) while carrying around in his pocket a letter describing a speech he once gave:

> Everybody in this room believes, without knowing it, or perhaps without having formulated it, or at least behaves as if he believes--that children up to the age of seven or eight are of a different species from ourselves. We see children as creatures about to be trapped and corrupted by what trapped and corrupted ourselves. We speak of them, treat them, as if it were possible to make happen events which are almost unimaginable. We speak of them as beings who could grow up into a race altogether superior to ourselves . . . . it should be enough to teach the young of a species to survive, to approximate the skills of its elders, to acquire current technical skills. Yet every generation seems to give out a bellow of anguish at some point, as if it had been betrayed, sold out, sold short.[5]

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[5] Briefing for a Descent into Hell, 1971; p. 178. This novel helped me see that our individual minds are receptors for ideas that sweep like waves over the surface of our planet (as Lessing herself later suggested in her introduction to Shikasta(1979)). The sort of positivistic consensus our educational systems help maintain impedes our ability to perceive our collective thought waves, principally by reinforcing the illusion that "ideas" are generated or possessed by individual minds. See also Lessing's lecture "Group Minds" (1986).

Last year Joseph Chilton Pearce published the results of his fifteen year research and "inner-space" voyage undertaken after he decided to take seriously his own feeling of anguish at having been sold out, sold short. He is far more explicit about the nature of the post-formal stage than Kegan. Following the thin line of recent brain research, of his yogi master Muktananda, and of his own experience, he announces that we are indeed genetically blueprinted to become a different, integrated, creator species: not before we are seven but after we turn fifteen--if only we aren't too severely imprinted with bad models before then. He calls the stage a post-biological stage and says it consists in the creation of a fully operative spiritual body out of each of the developmental parts of the biological body. His work is one indicator of the explosive connection between neurological research, meditative practice and developmental theory. (Pearce, 1986)

I appreciate the absolute commitment of non-reproducers like Reich and like Pearce's teacher, Muktananda. Yet, obviously, I think that the most potent institution we have as a species for the remaking of our person-hoods is not the monastery but the family. It is our clearest and most determinant experience of community. It determines our initial perception of what is possible, and it unfolds in the midst of diapers and 'gimmes' and war toys and who can sleep over when: that is, in the mist of very biological ego-developing life.

We are back at the issue of awakening the family. Obviously we will not advance very far if we insist on locking our children into our own possibilities. The will to return to daily life, day after day, for fifteen, twenty, twenty-five years with respect and attention to the developing search of our children, the will to continue to respect and look for new hope even when we know that we have already obviously screwed them up, the will to help them get a few steps closer to removing the power struggle (and the attempt to define the world as something we can settle, control, and possess) from daily family life, the will that might let them have a better chance with their kids: that will needs the conscious reinforcement of a new story: a detailed, historical, economic, biological, story. A story not just about where we might go but also about how we got to where we are now. (cf. Berry, 1980)

5. Economics and Reproduction[6]

The social institutions that surround the modern family may seem very young when compared to the venerable biological institution of the family itself. Awakening families that learn to influence their social surroundings soon discover however, that they are determined not just by the creation of the modern state but also by those economic forces which created that state. As early as 1908, Gandhi saw that India's enemy was not England: the enemy was modern civilization and England was merely its first victim. (Gandhi, 1958; chapter 13)

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[6] This section touches on the debate popularized by the publications of the Club of Rome (Meadows, 1972; Mesarovic & Pestal, 1974; and Tinbergen, 1976). The general demographic background is found in Henry (1976), Matras (1977), and Wrigley and Schofield (1981). Caldwell (1982), and Lestheaghe (1983) place relatively more weight on changing social insitutiuons than my presentation here which follows Wrigley (1985), Thomas (1985), and, especially, Levine (1984), Derouet (1980 & 1982), and Illich (1981).

Those of us who live in the 'modern' world have become a race of wage-earners. Over the last two hundred years, for an ever growing porcentage of our species, work has become synonymous with having a job. Unlike our subsistence farming ancestors and our hunting and gathering great-ancestors, we don't grow, build, collect or hunt the food, shelter, and clothing we need to live. We buy those things. Work, for us, doesn't mean producing the necessaries of life. It means 'making' money. We have been proletarized.

The effects of proletarization on the human family have been multitudinous. Three large effects have radically determined the contexts in which all 'moderns' live. They are briefly outlined below in order to highlight the gravity of the difficulties faced by families that may wish to assume conscious control of their role in creating the future of the human race.

5.1. Demographic changes.

The most basic effect has been a double reversal in the direction of the intra-familial wealth flow. Two changes in the economic costs and benefits of having children were responsible for the drastic shifts in population growth that are catapaulting our species numbers from around 1.000.000.000 in 1750 to a projected new 'stability' level in 2050 when there will be 10 of us for every 1 who was alive three hundred years before.

The initial change occurred first in England in the latter half of the 18th century and then throughout Northern Europe, Australia, Southern Africa and North America during the 19th century. Fairly simultaneously, rising agricultural productivity lowered food prices, vast expanses of land (wrested from hunting and gathering peoples in North America, Africa and Australia) became available for new agriculture, and cottage industry became economically viable and comercially organized. All three factors combined to remove the age-old European fear of having more children than could be accomodated on the land. There was lots of land available–albeit an ocean's voyage away. And, at home, a household could be set up and maintained with onl[illegible]ttage and a hand-loom: a household in which children could earn their keep from the age of [illegible]r. It became very profitable to have lots of kids, and quite possible for almost everybody to [illegible] them while still young enough to have many more.

Over a forty year period, between 1780 and 1820 – in spite of increased mo[illegible] – English population skyrocketed. The rest of the Northern European population began to incre[illegible]er the ensuing decades. New urban concentrations appeared, first in Northern England and then throughout Europe. They were fed both by more productive farms at home and by the produce of the newly conquered continents. Their inhabitants, like the 50,000,000 Europeans who arrived on new continents, were -- more often than not -- children of landless farm labourers or renters of small plots.

This class had long been the demographic accordeon of European human populations. Its ability to reproduce had always been sharply controlled by the availability of land. The average marriage age of its women had oscillated over generations and centuries between 20 and 26 years, producing the long fluctuations that raised English population, for example, from about 2 million in 1000 to around 8 million in 1300, lowered it to 2 million in 1500, and raised it to 8 million again by 1750. Then, for the first time, the possibility of founding a household did not disappear because the land filled up. The demographic accordeon remained wide open: there was work and food for everybody and our species' growth began in earnest.

The second change began as machinofacture replaced protoindustrial cottage industry as the main feature of European capitalism and, within a few generations, the most easily accessible land on the conquered continents was staked out, ploughed, and planted. First in England, later in continental Europe, and eventually among those European peoples who had taken over the other continents, the intra-familial wealth flow was reversed. Machines required trained, older, workers. Such workers were more productive and -- newly organized in factories, railway lines, and trade unions -- they were able to demand and receive enough remuneration to support a family on one wage. Quickly they became a new 'respectable' working class, widely separated from the rest of that vast majority of Englishmen who had no chance or pretension of ever being considered gentlemen.

High wages for adult male wage-earners spelled the end of female and child labour. Having a family, once an aid to survival, became at once an expense and a critically important sign of respectability. Men soon strove not just to feed their wives and kids, but also to buy them furniture, better clothing, houseware and -- eventually -- secure working futures.

The cost of founding a respectable household drove up the average marriage age, after a crucial 150 year long period of high reproduction. Intervening changes in urban sewage and medical research, meanwhile, had greatly reduced infant mortality rates. The result was one of the most remarkable changes in species reproduction habits we know of: the creation of the modern 1 to 3 child family.

One side comment is important. The history of the rise and subsequent stabilization of reproduction rates in what is now the northern industrial world is unique. Population increase in Africa, Asia, and Latin America did not begin because of a lowering of the marriage age. It began in earnest when infant mortality rates began to decline. The oft-cited and beloved mechanical analogy that supposes a subsequent population decline will necessarily take place around the planet following the European ethnic model doesn't have the support of historical evidence. Human reproduction patterns seem to be strongly determined by economics. The economic history of the European peoples has been radically different than that of the peoples they conquered.

5.2. Dependence and role uncertainty.

While standardizing the size of our families, proletarization eliminated their traditional economic functions. As modern wage-earners, we no longer train our children for their economic roles. Nor do we choose their professions. Nor, most often, can we even know what economic roles they may exercise.

Eight to ten thousand years ago, we acquired the role of agricultural instructors of our children. Prior to that, at least since the end of the last Ice Age 12,000 years ago, we lived in about 80,000 'bands' of between 15 and 50 persons, frolicking, dreaming, loving, and eating--easily and nutritiously-- in the veritable garden this planet in some places still is. Then, we taught our children every aspect of the symbiosis with other local species which was our economic life.[7] Some 600 bands still live that way. In about 1000 bands we probably reproduced too fast for the land we hunted and were forced to become farmers.[8] We began our millenia of toiling effort to get the earth to give us more of those few vegetable and animal species we know how to control. Working very hard, training our children to work very hard, our bands expanded into 'civilizations' which eventually drove the other 78,000 bands to extinction.

Over thousands of years as subsistence agriculturalists we passed on our tools, our techniques and our subservient species to our children. We taught them to grow, harvest, store and cook plants, to raise, kill, store and cook animals, to make cloth, work hides, and sew clothing, and to build houses. Then, less than three hundred years ago, our families began to lose those functions. First we reduced their curriculum to three subjects: sewing, cooking and making cloth, or sewing, cooking and growing one crop. Then we substituted "get a job" for the cloth-making or the crop-growing, "buy clothes" for the sewing, and--recently--"call the pizzeria" for the cooking.

The content of the message "get a job" varies according to our estimate of what the jobs available might be and who the employers are. For many, for a few generations, it meant "learn a trade and join the union". For most, the message has been "go to school, try to come out on top, and hope for the best". In almost all cases, the underlying lesson has become one of self-construction according to our best estimates of the demands of the job market. We teach our children to treat themselves as their own commodity: "You'll never keep a job if you can't get up on time." "No one will hire you dressed like that." (cf. Roberts, 1976; p. 178)

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[7] This description is based on studies of the lifestyles of surviving hunting and gathering groups. Not all of these live in especially favourable environments. McCarthy and McArthur and Lee, cited in Hassan (1975), found the !Kung Bushmen in the Kalahari to be long-lived and well-nourished while dedicating only about 84 days a year to subsistence. We may suppose that life was even more leisurely for the majority of the 80,000 bands.

[8] The old theory was that agriculture permitted larger populations and therefore came first. In 1965, however, Ester Boserup proposed that nobody became a farmer until forced to by band growth inside a limited land area. Since then there has been considerable debate. The issues are well presented in Bronson, (1975).

We have to trust other institutions to employ our children. We have to hope that still others will enable them to have a chance at satisfying well-paid employment. Our families neither give them work, nor prepare them for work. Instead, we train them as best we can to look out for the best chance to sell their time for the highest rate. We pass on to them our own dependence on a social economic order we cannot control which regulates our access to the necessaries of life.

5.3. Consumption.

What are the necessaries of life? As hunters and subsistence agriculturalists, we needed sufficient food, clothing and shelter to survive and, if possible, be comfortable. The specific content of our needs depended primarily on the climate of our area of the planet. The production skills we taught our children contained and transmitted a traditional definition of needs.

Now that we are wage-earners living in cities, our work doesn't, by itself, define and satisfy our needs. It only gives us money. And that money turns our children into fifth column agents of Jem, G.I. Joe, Swatch Watches, Muscles and MacDonalds. The very respect for our children that may enable us to regain some of the child-raising functions recently assumed by the modern state, without returning to parental dictatorship, has the effect of bringing us face-to-face not only with our creative children but also with those merchandizers who, with great care and concentrated consciousness, spend enormous resources to recruit our children as spokesmen for their idea of what we ought to "need".

Throughout this article I have spoken of *families* waking up because I think we are collective units, capable of *collective* continuous learning. Since, however, we are being conditioned by forces that see us primarily as collective consumers, our awakening into continuous family-directed learning becomes, in daily home economics, a battle between our children's advocacy of fashionable (usually well-advertised) goods and services and our puzzled efforts to discover some way to discern which commodities might be of lasting value.

It may be fruitful for those remaining families that actually work together, producing visible goods or services, to examine and share with us the characteristics of *their* family life.

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The Role of Corporate Education in a Changing Financial Marketplace

Presentation By

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To The Learned Societies

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Hamilton, Ontario

Corporate Education in a Changing Financial Marketplace

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My topic today - The Role of Corporate Education in a Changing Financial Marketplace - sounds very specific.

My focus, however, is on corporate education, and my comments, I believe, have implications for education in every setting.

I believe that we all rely on education to help us respond positively and creatively to the changes that technology and other forces impose on us, especially in the workplace.

The financial industry has, of course, been undergoing significant change because of government regulatory and technological advances.

Computerized services for financial transactions have obvious benefits for all of us.

But technology is expensive, and to have a positive impact it must result in improved productivity - either the same volume with fewer people, or more volume with the same people who have been trained to harness the energy of automation.

The industry also faces legislative change. These legislative changes will radically transform the traditional separation of financial responsibilities so that, for example, the banks will be able to expand into the securities business, and stocks and bonds will no longer be the preserve only of the brokerage houses.

This expansion into new market areas greatly enlarges the scope and nature of the changes that require positive and creative response from the financial industry.

To examine the mechanisms available for that response, I want to look at corporate education as it now exists in two Canadian banks and one trust company.

Researching the financial industry's training and development programs proved problematic. As members of the financial industry, we are competitors, now more than ever, as we face the expanded powers promised by the new legislation.

Training and development techniques, marketing strategies, etc., are internal matters and so closely linked to each company's competitive edge, that detailed information is not easily attained.

My information was gained through personal interviews, and based on a series of questions supplied in advance. The research was conducted by Dr. I. Matthews of our Commmunications Marketing Department in an effort to maintain a high level of academic integrity.

This information supports my comments. But, an in-depth examination of the problems of change, and of corporate response to those problems, would require an independent and purely academic perspective.

However, the view from within the industry has value and can pinpoint areas of concern.

That vision is what I want to share with you today.

First, some details about the three models of corporate education that I was able to examine.

I will not refer to the banks and the trust company by name. While I can guess who they are, Dr. Matthews maintained their anonymity and, therefore, their confidence.

The larger of the banks, with over 20,000 employees, has a strong international as well as national market. It is self-described as "lean" in its flat organizational structure, with more than 20 people reporting to the president, and aggressive in its innovative financial practices.

The bank has an official corporate commitment to training and development, as its mission statement insists: "If you aren't serving the customer well, you'd better be serving someone who is."

Excellent customer service requires top quality performance from the line employees who have direct contact with the customers. Training and development are crucial to achieving and maintaining this quality.

As a result of a high staff turnover rate in the early 1970's, the bank has increased its commitment to training and development.

Starting with hiring policy, and focusing at the same time on promoting from within, the bank emphasizes careers rather than jobs. This focus on careers encourages the employees' sense of commitment to the company. This commitment depends, of course, to a large degree on the kind of encouragement that is available - encouragement in the form of education and promotion.

The bank's hiring policy includes recruitment at most Canadian universities. The bank hires approximately 65 MBA's per year; over 100 B. Comm's, and 200 community college and other undergraduates.

Training begins from the first day on the job, when new employees are selected for either branch management or commercial lending streams of entry training.

Both new employees and those eligible for promotion rely on in-house programs; for example, a program on management training with a technical focus on corporate finance, or a behavioural focus program on the human element in management. The behavioural courses are drawn from program material provided by North American consulting groups. Since these companies enjoy international recognition in organizational behavioural management, the bank counts on the high quality of its programs to give it a competitive advantage.

The thrust is to address both the perennial problem of working with people - colleagues and customers - and the new problems specific to regulatory and technological changes.

In the past five years, 1,800 employees (8% of total staff) have completed the bank's behavioural management courses.

As well as developing its own courses, the bank is a member of the Institute of Canadian Bankers, the ICB.

The ICB co-ordinates with universities formal generic banking study courses for employees with university training or extensive banking experience. The bank's employees also pursue technical training courses through various professional organizations, such as the Canadian Institute for Chartered Accountants.

Some of these educational efforts (but not all) are co-ordinated by the Human Resources and Development Department. This department is responsible for recruiting, management and other training, as well as for special educational projects.

The department has a budget of well into the million. Staff includes a manager with an MBA, six instructors, three research and development officers, and administrative support on the management side, and an even bigger group dedicated to technical training for clerical and junior supervisory staff.

This bank has both the motivation and the resources to act effectively to sustain and increase employees' productivity in the face of change.

My second example is one of the largest Schedule 'B' Banks in Canada. This bank, much smaller than our first model, functions as a commercial bank, providing banking services for medium and larger business.

It also handles personal business, mainly with executive and professional clients, and accepts deposits from individuals, corporations, governments, both nationally and internationally.

This bank also recognizes the importance of training, as its 1985 Annual Report asserts: "Perhaps the most significant aspect of our commitment to clients is in the selection and training of staff ... to attain a high level of client service, the bank must continue to attract and retain high-potential individuals."

In its commitment to attract and retain high quality staff, the bank relies on carefully developed manpower planning processes.

These processes include:

1. Identifying talented candidates.
2. Annual performance reviews and evaluations to help management monitor and maintain staff performance levels, and
3. Personal and professional development through a range of advanced learning programs.

This bank has a tradition of strong training programs. When it became a chartered bank, the change from a finance company involved extensive staff education.

To provide that training, the bank established its own Institute, a self-contained unit with its own budget and staff.

The Institute staff now numbers ten, and is made up of designers of instruction programs, a video producer, a liaison officer, and administrative support staff.

The Institute's Audio Visual Services Department has produced 40 programs (including video tape and computer diskettes) to support the bank's training efforts.

Institute staff are required to have a background in banking so that they can develop effective programs that link theory to the reality of the workplace.

The presence of the Institute gives employee development a high profile in the bank. It has also made staff development a 3-way responsibility shared by the employee, his or her manager, and the Institute staff.

Information about programs and courses is sent to an Institute representative in each branch. This representative is responsible for ensuring that employees know about the training that is available.

Timing is also important. New course materials are distributed throughout the year, and a detailed course catalogue provides management with sufficient information to create individual action plans for each employee when establishing goals for the following year.

The Institute structures its training programs in a pyramid so that progress is cumulative. Each course builds on skills and knowledge acquired in earlier courses.

Curricula include formal studies in management, marketing, operational procedures and lending. Programs in the four areas are divided into "bite-size" modules for self-instruction, and include self-check units.

This format allows each individual to monitor progress; when they complete a module, a Head Office questionnaire measures the degree of success that they have achieved.

The Institute provides high quality programs, which several financial companies have adopted for their corporate education endeavours.

The Trust Companies Institute and another independent trust company, for example, use the bank Institute's Personal Lending Program.

The Institute is also involved in a joint venture with the credit unions. Co-operating in this way has meant that combined resources have permitted the development of high quality educational programs in commercial and corporate lending that could not have been developed independently.

By sharing in their response to change, both participants gain. Co-operation among different parts of the industry offers a positive model for the future.

As well as sponsoring and using its own Institute Programs, the bank maintains strong connections with:

1. The Institute of Canadian Bankers, which provides business related training specific to banking;
2. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, and
3. A community college, particularly in the development of video-based training programs.

In 1986, 110 of the bank's employees in Ontario studied in the Canadian Banker's Program. The bank has also arranged with Ryerson for employees to receive credit towards a degree for internal Institute courses.

All of this activity and joint venturing makes it abundantly clear to employees, that the bank is concerned that corporate education be taken seriously, and that employees will be given credit for participating in training and development programs.

The bank's own Institute is planning to develop a course on securities in anticipation of the legislative changes that will allow banks to engage in the brokerage business.

This anticipation of legislative change will ensure that the bank's employees are prepared for the evolution of change.

My third example is a trust company which has fewer employees than the first bank, but more branches than the second bank.

The trust company, like the banks, has a corporate philosophy and a commitment to staff development. This philosophy is tied to the company's "commitment to quality" to quote from its mission statement:

1. To quality of products and service.
2. To quality of working environment, and

3. To quality of returns to shareholders.

Like the banks, the trust company recognizes that the key to achieving this triple focus of quality lies in its employees' knowledge of, and dedication to, their responsibilities.

Again, like the banks, the trust company depends heavily on a professional organization, The Trust Companies Institute, the educational arm of the trust companies for its technical training programs.

The TCI depends on a network of volunteers in member trust companies. These volunteers are senior level staff who serve on curriculum committees, as examination markers, and as seminar leaders on key issues and legislative changes affecting the trust industry.

Their volunteer contributions are organized and administered by TCI staff.

The TCI's programs in technical education and management development, are supplemented by seminars and workshops on current industry developments.

The Institute's mandate is to supply training in trust industry products and services in a self-study format, with formal examinations scheduled at set dates nationwide.

Recent revision of the study programs involved the re-grouping of programs to respond to change on a collective industry-wide basis. This kind of anticipatory and responsive approach in corporate education, through TCI, is crucial for employees to cope with radical developments in trust industry products and services.

The trust company reimburses employees' tuition fees when each course is successfully completed. This financial support gives material expression to the company's commitment to staff training at all levels.

Internally, the trust company is organized by market segment with two line divisions - consumer to market all consumer-oriented services, and corporate to offer all services offered to corporate clients.

The Consumer Services Staff Development Department works to train employees in the skills essential to good branch service. These in-house programs are popular and well-used, as the corporate emphasis on high quality service requires that staff be skilled and knowledgeable in company procedures, practices and product lines.

Staff development offers a group of how-to-skills, particularly in human relations. Courses in sales, telephone skills, handling customer complaints, and other practical topics are included.

On the corporate services side there is a manager of training whose responsibility is the generation of specific technical skills that adapt the generic industry technical programs of the Trust Companies Institute to the unique requirement of the corporation.

In addition, each manager and supervisor, is of course, responsible for installing and supporting on-the-job training programs that further refine the knowledge, and make it applicable to the specific geographic region.

For example, corporate lending in the resource based economy of British Columbia is different than the requirements of the service based economy on Bay Street.

At the present time, much research and program development is under way in anticipation of legislative change which will enlarge the horizon of new business opportunity.

This activity has no immediate payback, as the specifics of legislative reform are unknown, and the timetable of legislation is likewise unknown - we do know that pending reform has been on the agenda of federal regulators and legislators for 17 years!!

Nonetheless, the investment must be made and tools ready to be implemented as soon as possible after the firing gun of reform is fixed.

This reinforces the other reality of corporate training - it must have a practical return to the individual to be of value - there is no point in training people in technical skills which they cannot use - the danger is increased expectations and frustration resulting in accelerated turnover if the corporation cannot take advantage of the employees' new technical skills within a reasonable period of time.

The challenge, therefore, is to foster and encourage continual skill development and manage the resulting expectations through a program of manpower planning which carefully balances the need and the result.

This, of course, is different from the objectives of external technical training offered at universities and elsewhere, and paid for by the student where the objective is to develop new skills which will assist the student to achieve his or her desired level of expectation. Most corporations wish to ensure the increased expectations are achieved within the corporation.

The company's Human Resources Department supplements the line division staff development departments. It works to ensure that employees feel encouraged and supported through links with the TCI.

The Human Resources Department offers encouragement and morale-building. Both are very important in a time of change, particularly when the pressure of change seems likely to threaten job security or promotion prospects.

Human Resources, also runs management/supervisory skills programs in-house for mid-management personnel. Participation in these programs depends on a manager's personal recommendations.

The trust company is striving to give flesh to its philosophical commitment to corporate education.

The banks, with their commitment to training and development, have the means both in size and in structure. These resources permit them to respond positively to the technological changes that the industry has experienced and the legislative changes that are to come.

However, the jury remains out on whether the corporate education of the three companies will prove adequate, or can develop adequately to thrive under the pressures of change.

For the financial services industry, success will depend on how thoroughly they accept the challenge involved in training, retraining and in professional development. This challenge requires a commitment of both budget and time.

The temptation might be simply to hire new employees - new employees who are already specialists, who already have skills in, say, bond trading - rather than investing heavily in corporate education to improve existing employees' skills and knowledge.

If the financial industry chooses new hiring as a way of meeting change, then the philosophical commitment to corporate education will remain philosophical.

If the industry chooses to save time and money - the time and money needed to give employees a chance to increase their skills - the loss could be immense, in reduced employee morale and commitment.

Salary levels will escalate as employees flit from firm to firm for the highest salary. No real commitment to the employer will be made beyond that of a hired gun.

However, if the hiring of new staff with special skills can be held to a minimum, and if corporate education is given a priority in budget and time allocation, then the financial industry will be able to profit from the commitment to theory and, in varying ways, to the practice of corporate education.

The three institutions I've described share the commitment and express that commitment in different ways, with differing degrees of success. They also share, however, the impact of technological and (soon) legislative change.

If the financial industry is to continue to thrive, to work competitively and successfully, the investment in, and the accompanying profit from, corporate education is crucial. That profit will be the Leaders who will emerge - not from the outside, but from within.

I believe that one of the dilemmas facing the financial industry is the question of leadership: who will be its leaders - visionary, yet pragmatic, tough-minded, and creative in responses to change - who will guide the new financial institutions of the future?

To meet this requirement, corporate education must EXPAND BEYOND the bounds of professional development as it now exists. Training in financial or business procedures - the technical skills - will remain important, but must be complemented and enhanced by yet another focus - that of personal development of communications skills and true liberal arts training, which will permit the translation of external knowledge into specific applications for the financial industry.

With a substantial commitment of time and money, to horizon broadening knowledge, and an expansion of its vision of corporate education, financial institutions will show a real commitment to the kind of corporate education that will nurture and develop its future leaders.

There is no better way to face change and uncertainty than with the support of education.

The financial industry is facing a radically changing marketplace. It is my hope that financial institutions will recognize how crucial their commitment to corporate education is - in the largest possible sense, in their commitment to the morale and to the very future of their employees' work life. And given each company's emphasis on the significance of the staff's contribution to their individual success, to the future of the institutions themselves.

Corporate education has to have a bottom line - that bottom line is a staff so trained and educated that each employee can provide the best of service. And, in turn, the Company develops products and support systems that are the BEST IN THE INDUSTRY. This kind of success will mean that ITS SALES FIGURES ARE THE BEST.

So, corporate and individual success go hand in hand.

One last comment on this view of what is, and the vision of what could be.

From your point of view, do the problems of corporate education have any connection with the university community?

I believe that what we face in the financial industry is relevant. First, there is a similarity in our need to that which you face in faculty renewal and, secondly, we are poised at a moment before great changes; we share - as the three models show - a philosophical commitment to training; we need mechanisms and the kind of community of learning that is available in our universities.

One of the banks has links with Ryerson and with a community college. That kind of mutual arrangement is the beginning. If financial institutions choose to respond positively and creatively - and according to their philosophical commitments - to the changes to come, they will need to draw on and work together, with educational institutions that are able to supplement industry-specific training with the kinds of training that will foster personal development to enhance professional development.

My view from the inside is positive.

I see corporate commitment and many of the mechanisms to fufill that commitment to education are in place.

What the future will be depends on how carefully we, in the industry, guard against "quick-fix" solutions, and how aware we are of the possibilities - the profit available from a real commitment to the total corporate education of our employees.

Thank you.

(Research prepared by Irene J. Matthews, Supervisor, Communications, Guaranty Trust Company of Canada).

SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING AND THE MISAPPROPRIATION OF ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICE

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> Throughout history some adults have planned and conducted their own learning without much assistance from professional teachers.
> - Allen Tough, 1967

> The education of a free people will always be directed more beneficially for them when it is in their own hands.
> - Thomas Hodgskin, 1823

Self-Directed Learning: Andragogy's "True Method"

In recent years the notion of self-directed learning has become virtually a guiding principle for adult education practice, particularly in the United States and Canada. It is invoked by many adult educators as a primary distinction between the modern practice of adult education and what they perceive to be a characteristic pedagogical orientation of the public school where the teacher is supposed to be at the helm. The basis for this distinction, it is claimed, resides in the fact that with self-directed learning strategies the needs and behaviors of the learner take centre stage rather than those of the teacher, who is transformed into a facilitator. In this way, the past experiences of adults and their natural inclination to undertake learning projects on their own initiative[1] serve to shape the pedagogical encounter and the entire learning process. Techniques and strategies associated with self-directed learning are said to constitute a distinctive practice of andragogy in contrast to pedagogy which, as noted above, is supposed to characterize the more teacher directed approaches of conventional schooling.[2]

Whether or not a common-sense recognition of adult learners' past experiences and rights to shape their learning projects merits such a clear-cut distinction between desirable pedagogical practices for children and those suitable for adults is a moot point.[3] The purpose of this paper, however, is to raise some critical questions about the reification of self-directed learning and its deployment as a technique and guiding principle for the modern practice of adult education. In addition, the essay will point to the kind of pedagogical initiatives that are in keeping with aspirations for an emancipatory practice of adult education, and will incorporate reference to a theoretical project which provides the outlines of a rational basis for this practice.

First of all, however, it is important to establish in what forms the notion of self-directed learning has become enshrined within the modern practice of adult education.

Impact and Scope

As a very widely publicized concept within the literature of adult education, self-directed learning has certainly lent credence to teaching practices which are less didactic and overtly restrictive than those still followed within many formal educational settings. In his book, The Free University: A Model for Lifelong Learning, William Draves describes the concept as follows:

> Self-directed learning begins with the learner. It sees the learner as the primary impetus for and the initiator of the learning process. Teachers, classes, and other educational features are then put in a secondary light, as aids to the learning process rather than [as] its central elements.[4]

And Malcolm Knowles, the best known advocate of self-directed as a technique for the modern practice of adult-education has this to say on the subject:

> As a person grows and matures his self-concept moves from one of total dependency (as is the reality of the infant) to one of increasing self-directedness.[5]

Knowles' carefully delineated techniques for self-directed learning, in particular, have attracted enormous numbers of adherents from among professional adult educators. They are being applied in many different kinds of formal adult education settings from basic literacy training through to the professional preparation of medical doctors and Ph.D. students. From the realization that an individual is the primary location of his or her own learning experiences has emerged an array of techniques for ready deployment onto the vast arena of formal and non-formal adult education. Self-directed learning techniques are now widely viewed as sterling characteristics of a special theory and practice of "andragogy".

Leading Sources

The notion of self-directed learning as it is currently conceived can be traced most directly to the early publications of Allen Tough. However, in Learning Without a Teacher: A Study of Tasks and Assistance during Adult Self-Teaching, Tough acknowledged his debt to Cyril Houle, the doyen of university adult education in the U.S.A.:

> It was Professor C.O. Houle of the University of Chicago who first focused attention on men and women conspicuously engaged in learning. The inquiry was then taken up and developed by younger colleagues.[6]

Of these "younger colleagues", Tough emerged as the most visible standard bearer. Apart from the study just cited, which was reprinted in 1969 and revised in 1977 and 1981, Tough's much cited publications include "The Assistance Obtained by Adult Self-Teachers",[7] The Adult's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning,[8] and Intentional Changes: A Fresh Approach to Helping People Change.[9] In view of the number of theses, dissertations, and published works that have drawn on its contents, The Adult's Learning Projects might be regarded as a classical text of reference for contemporary adult education research in the English speaking world.

The major achievement of Tough's work is to present the far from novel insight (a fact which he readily acknowledged) that adults learn on their own initiative, and construing it in such a way as to provide an arena for professional intervention by adult education practitioners and researchers. The studies cited are all pre-occupied with the prospects for identifying strategies and pedagogical techniques from the perspective of the professional educator. They do not endeavor to explore the meanings, in context, and cognitive structures that adults bring to their learning endeavors. On the contrary, self-initiated learning, as conceptualized in these studies, has been reduced to a series of elements and tasks that are accommodative to institutionalized (especially professionalized) needs. This manner of representation has tended to foreclose on the prospects in adult education encounters for levels of interpretation, and conversations, required for a genuine understanding of how adults endow the learning projects of their everyday lives with meaning and structure. What it gives us, instead, is an explanatory framework that tells us more about the advertencies of professional educators than autonomous learning.

The initial publications on the adult's learning projects rekindled an interest Malcolm Knowles had evinced for the idea of independent learning earlier in his career and, with the remarkable entrepreneurial panache characteristic of so many American academics, he formulated self-directed learning into a readily deployable technique that has been evoked as a guiding principle and widely applied throughout the field of adult education. Among Knowles' numerous publications, The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species[10], The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy,[11] and Self-Directed Learning: A Guide for Learners and Teachers[12] are particularly noteworthy for the imprint they have made on practice and research in contemporary adult education. Self-Directed Learning, etc. is a how-to-text which embraces without question an ideology of technique. It describes self-directed learning and then sets out, in formulaic terms, how it has to be done; directed self-directed learning, so to speak. Those practitioners who sense that the text is not sufficiently formulaic will find reassurance in Knowles' most recent book, Using Learning Contracts[13].

For Malcolm Knowles the adult educator wedded to self-directed learning as andragogy becomes responsible for managing a pedagogic technique, usually in the form of a learning contract with a student client. Through a negotiation process, the client is expected to identify a learning project and to specify, at the outset, learning objectives, learning resources and strategies, evidence of accomplishment, and criteria for evaluation. One wonders whether Eduard Lindeman had this kind of formal reductionism in mind when he first advanced the notion of andragogy as the true method of adult learning?[14] In any event, self-directed learning as technique has been implemented in many institutional settings including hospitals, business firms, colleges, public schools, and prisons.

Recently, the self-directed learning motif has begun to absorb an important variation with two books by Stephen Brookfield. Both Self-Directed Learning: From Theory to Practice,[15] a selection of essays for which he is contributing editor, and Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning[16] evince a critical awareness that institutional, socio-political, and cultural constraints influence the scope and quality of adult learning endeavors and should be openly addressed. The practical and ethical, rather than technocratic, intent of Brookfield's orientation to "facilitating adult learning" is apparent from the following statement:

> The task of the educator, then, becomes that of encouraging adults to perceive the relative, contextual nature of previously unquestioned givens. Additionally, the educator should assist the adult to reflect on the manner in which values, beliefs, and behaviors previously deemed unchallengeable can be critically analyzed. Through presenting alternative ways of interpreting and creating the world to adults, the educator fosters a willingness to consider alternative ways of living.[17]

In presenting adult educators with a very comprehensive synthesis of contributions to the stock of literature on self-directed learning, the two texts cited in the preceding paragraph do underscore the need for adult education practice to foster critical questioning of taken-for-granted assumptions. However, even though a "critical philosophy of practice" is invoked,[18] the analysis remains at a level that permits an evasion of rational, though parlous, enquiry into the efficacy and ethics associated with the reification of self-directed learning as both technique and guiding principle for adult education practice.

Invasion of the Commons, Ideology of Technique, and Liberal Relativities

This section presents, admittedly in somewhat adumbrated form, the grounds for more sustained critiques of the three orientations to self-directed learning just described.

Ivan Illich uses a metaphor of the rural "commons" of medieval England in drawing our attention to those accessible but precious parts of our personal and physical environment "for which customary law exacted specific forms of respect".[19] Elsewhere, he writes in similar vein of "vernacular values" to characterize meaningful private and communal aspects of peoples' everyday lives that are continuously eroded by the effects of what he would call "non-convivial" technological innovation and bureaucratic interventions.[20] Jurgen Habermas, who places a high premium on rationality and would abjure a romanticized anti-technology stand, concerns himself with the same theme when he refers to "the colonization of the life-world". His critical question, yet to be confronted by adult education practice, is "how can the relation between technical progress and the social life-world be reflected upon and brought under the control of rational discussion?"[21]

Such metaphors and images as these together with the substantive theoretical works from which they emerge, point to the impairment of vital dimensions of everyday life in modern society. Formalized learning strategies and research protocols that emanate from professionalized notions such as the adult's learning projects represent further systematic intrusions onto personal and communal (inter-personal) events. Our capacity to learn on our own initiative, according to our own cognitive styles, is a vital part of "the commons", of our everyday social life-world. Adult educators are remiss when they subvert their knowledge of this capacity to serve their own professionalized interests as teachers and researchers through the deployment of intrusive strategies.

Rather than formulating and implementing self-teaching frameworks that are indicative of professionalized orientations, adult educators could be working on strategies to identify and preserve valuable non-institutionalized (individual and community oriented) learning endeavors that are threatened by bureaucratized and professionalized interventions. Instead of deploying intrusive research designs based on independent learning project protocols, they might invite willing individuals to engage in exploratory conversations, as part of a pedagogical and hermeneutic process, to discover what meanings adults endow on their own learning experiences. This could be enacted without having recourse to pre-designed explanatory frames of reference.

Unhappily, as noted in the previous section, pre-conceived protocol statements and components associated with adults' independent learning projects have led to technocratic formulations such as the learning contract. Self-directed learning is now subsumed under an ideology of technique to the extent that many adult educators and learners (and, presumably, adult educators as learners) are prepared to accept, on expert authority, specific directions on how to manage, and how to be, self-directed learners. Techniques that enable us to be what we already are. There are contradictions in life, and then there are truly absurd contradictions. The latter are manifested in a fifty eight item multiple choice instrument entitled the Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale.[22] This assessment device purports to inform people about the extent to which they can be what they already are. From their SDLRS scores respondents are able to locate themselves on a five point ("low" to "high", "average" in the middle) learning readiness scale. Those with a yen for more exactitude can even work out their percentile designation. For example, an SDLRS score of 147 or less places one in the zero percentile class (i.e. hopelessly other-directed) while super self-directors with a score of 273 or more make the 99th percentile. In any event, SDLRS presents us with a nicely designed paradigm case of excessive reductionism. SDLRS could be glossed over as an odd exemplar of reductio ad absurdum if it were not so uncritically applied. It signifies, however, a commitment to a determined instrumentalism that justifies taken-for-granted acceptance of an ideology of technique.

Techniques that are associated with self-directed learning, such as the learning contract, are essentially accommodative to prevailing institutional and societal needs. The adult educator becomes the mediator in a negotiation process where prospects for a critical engagement with coercive institutional requirements are over-ridden by a necessary pre-occupation with technical aspects of the self-directed learning artifact. As a mediating technique, the learning contract relentlessly steers the learning experience within normative institutional parameters. In public schools, the learning contract is often used as a virtually last ditch technique to normalize recalcitrant and lazy students before more clear-cut punitive measures are brought to bear. Self-directed learning methods have been enthusiastically accepted by management in such institutions as the military and prisons where structures of surveillance, normalization, and control are readily apparent. As an accommodative device, self-directed learning as technique readily blends into such settings where a willingness by individuals to monitor their own behavior adds to the efficient management of the organization. So self-directed learning has emerged within a profession of adult education as an aspect of a constraining or disciplinary technology which forges, in the words of Michel Foucault, a "docile body, that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved."[23] Learning experiences shaped by self-directed learning methods are individualized in a way that ensures learners become wrapped up in their own contracted learning project and the mediated relationship moulded by a facilitator. The possibilities for rational discourse with others that can lead to a disclosure of distortions and various forms of dominance within the immediate institutional context are unattainable via this technocratic mediation. Prospects for rational communicative discourse, and the communicative competence required, cannot be realized by merely prompting learners to share with others learning projects they have structured on an individualized basis along lines marked out by a designated facilitator. Definable limits to learning, essentially accommodative to institutional norms, will prevail whatever variations on deploying self-directed learning techniques are adopted. The medium serves to shape the nature of any pedagogical discourse as well as the project itself. Facilitating self-directed learning and using learning contracts come to mean, above all, serving institutional needs.

Of late, the methodology of self-directed learning has been conveniently harnessed to large scale and clearly prescriptive curriculum development projects such as competency-based adult education. Within the managed learning environment which such over-arching curriculum designs foster, "self-directed learning" is bandied around almost inter-changeably with such terms as "individualized learning", "computer assisted learning", "standardized coping skills", and so on. At this level, it requires no critical analysis to comprehend that facilitating adult learning really means managing adult learning.

Self-directed learning as technique, then, serves to condition the individual into taken-for-granted acceptance of what is offered. Through the medium of the learning contract, as with other systematic curriculum frameworks, a pattern of communication is shaped in which individual needs are sublimated to institutional interests. Adult educators who subscribe to self-directed learning as technique are not only collaborators in effecting this sublimation, they become willing collaborators. The apparatus of self-directed learning as part of an ideology of technique is all the more pernicious because it is accompanied by the expression of an ethical concern with autonomous decision-making. Having trespassed upon an instinctual dimension of peoples' everyday lives which incorporates a vital capacity for individualized and community oriented learning initiatives, the professional adult educator has deployed onto it pedagogical technique. The capacity for self-learning becomes artificially construed and the prospect for genuine autonomous learning is effectively undermined. A pre-occupation with promoting the kind of technocratic ethos embodied in such devices as the learning contract and the Self-Directed Learning Readiness Scale serves to obstruct the possibility for understanding contradictions and seeing the way to rational alternatives. The self-directed learning contract becomes an artifice in the service of institutionalized interests.

The most recent perspective on self-directed learning described in the previous section does, however, allude to some of the deleterious consequences that stem from an excessive pre-occupation with technique. It emphasizes the need for facilitating in adult learners the capacity for critical thought that can identify ambiguities, contradictions, normative stipulations, and so on. It makes brief reference to the kind of adult education settings and approaches which, as will be indicated in the following section, offer at least the possibilities for a rational, emancipatory practice of adult education.

Unfortunately, while this most recent perspective on self-directed learning provides an impressive synthesis and alludes to shortcomings, it is able to eschew a relevant level of critical analysis. The reason it is able to evade a more radical analysis that would oblige thoughtful adult educators to reflect more carefully on what it is they are and what it is they do (including the formulation of technicist pedagogical strategies to consolidate professionalized interests) can be traced to a relativistic scheme of interpretation. Accordingly, from this perspective it does not become problematic to pose reservations about symptomatic shortfalls of self-directed learning "theory and practice" while presenting, at the same time and without critical analysis, essays expounding a technical rationality which gives rise to the very symptoms identified.[24]

Nevertheless, the most recent perspective on self-directed learning does endeavor to pause from a pre-occupation with facilitating the adult learner as paramount theme for a consideration of the adult educator's situation when it refers to "building a critical philosophy of practice."[25] Yet, it here that the relativistic disposition becomes most apparent. In the end the best that can be offered is that adult educators "develop a thoughtful rationale to guide their practice." (Any rationale? A different rationale for every adult setting or encounter?). A comforting certainty can be extracted from a relativistic orientation. It ensures that a penchant for facilitating critical analysis can always be rationalized at a level that does not disturb the prevailing matrix of power relations within any particular institutionalized setting. The critical analysis need never have a cutting edge.

In Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning, Stephen Brookfield refers to "three modes of knowing" (the technical, the emancipatory, and the communicative) identified by social theorist Jurgen Habermas.[26] Further exploration of these "modes of knowing" as analyzed by Habermas would have formed the basis for a more critical edge in the assessment of self-directed learning strategies. An adherence to the rationality of a technical mode at the expense of the others, as exemplified in the deployment of self-directed learning contracts, entirely usurps the prospects for a genuinely emancipatory practice of adult education that can emerge from rational communicative discourse.

It is from Habermas's most recent analysis of communicative action, in which he presents the pursuit of emancipatory interests as a rational generalizable project, that the prospects for a non-technocratic and non-relativistic guide to adult education practice can begin to emerge. A mere disposition to facilitate critical thinking leaves undisturbed the accommodative, instrusive, and coercive effects of a technical rationality that tends to be sustained by self-directed learning methods.

Alternative Perspectives

The concept of communicative action[27] that has evolved from Jurgen Habermas's extensive on-going theoretical work provides the rational grounds for an emancipatory practice of adult education of a kind envisaged by the prominent adult educator Paulo Freire. Habermas posits an ideal speech situation as the context for practical, genuinely democratic decision-making among groups of people focusing on a common area of concern. Integral to the communicative process is a commitment to grappling with identifiable distortions and coercive structures that impede rational discourse. In this way, relevant courses of action which stem from genuine democratic discourse become achievable. Analysis of Freire's pedagogy in the light of Habermas's theoretical investigations could yield important insights for the rational development of a modern practice of adult education.

Admittedly, the concept of communicative action, substantiated by lengthy theoretical research, envisages circumstances that would be difficult to enact given the prevailing socio-economic and political structures, and the inadequate levels of communicative competence which it reveals. Yet it does provide a rational standard to guide, and to assess, emancipatory adult education endeavors that are already the hall-mark of some adult education study circles, residential adult education centres, and Freirean cultural circles. Adult educators, then, can look to pedagogical arrangements like these as the key to a rational practice of adult education intent on disassociating itself from the indoctrination, distortions, and manipulations of instrumentalized communicative strategies such as self-directed learning contracts. It is important to stress, however, that the rationality underlying communicative action does support the appropriate incorporation of technique. Technique, though, is subordinated to practical emancipatory interests derived from rational discourse. It is not allowed to steer the educative (decision-making) process. Only as individuals involved begin to interpret relevant dimensions of the problem at hand,[28] with all the constraints and opportunities that this brings to light, will the question of what technique to use, if any at all, enter the discourse.

In the present context, it is not possible to achieve even a brief sketch of Habermas's theory of communicative action that does justice to the complex nature of his entire research program. And it would be a mistake, a disservice to the on-going theoretical project, to suggest that somehow a fully fleshed out concept of communicative action should be enshrined as the new sterling principle for adult education practice and research. (That would be subscribing to the established pattern exemplified by the reification of self-directed learning). What the theory of communicative action provides is access to a realm of rational (non-relativistic) discourse, nourished by aspirations for genuine participatory democratic action, in which adult education practice and research can meaningfully participate. While the advantages of technique, and the prospects for efficient action which stem from them, are acknowledged, a paramount concern with ethical and practical interests establishes a context where the deployment of any innovative technique is the occasion for critical assessment rather than taken-for-granted acceptance. The perennial issue of freedom (autonomy) versus contingency (heteronomy) cannot be foreclosed by mere pedagogical techniques even if they are delivered under such labels as "self-directed learning", "Learning how to learn", "self-teaching", and so on. But the conditions for a pedagogy emanating from rational discourse that holds emancipation as an ultimate human goal are accessible.

The way is open, then, for the construction of a rationale that can sustain emancipation, and all that it entails in terms of a participatory democracy of educated people, at the core of adult education practice. The working out of such a project couldindiscomfort for thoughtful adult educators since it would clearly mark out practices and viewpoints that are accommodative to manipulative pedagogical strategies, especially those that come wrapped in the terminology of a humanistic orientation.

Conclusion

The opening quotation of this essay announces that adults have always managed to learn on their own. This is a truism that serves to give pause for thought only inasmuch as we have become beguiled by the notion that learning, properly so called, can only be achieved through the mediation of an expert. However, self-evident though it may seem, the observation sustains a spurious basis from which professional educators deploy techniques associated with self-directed learning.

Learning is by definition self-directed. Just like the opening quote, this is not an extraordinary observation. It denotes individual experiencing constituted by intentional (purposive) acts directed towards specific objects or events. Clearly, for nearly all adults, capable of experiencing in some way the events and objects of their everyday world (including the thought processes of their own inner mental world), learning takes place all the time. Learning is always done by the person involved. No one actually learns for any one else. In this sense, the term "self-directed" as applied to learning becomes redundant. However, there is a paradox at work here in that learning cannot take place in a complete vacuum. We could never learn without, at some time or other, interaction with something or someone in our environment. Mediation of some kind is inevitable. So there is no contradiction in the notion that learners do their learning on their own and their being taught by a teacher.

Recourse to a teacher, when an adult or group of adults identify a need for instruction and expert guidance, is quite in keeping with the rationale underlying a concept of communicative action and can be envisaged without a strategy to transform the role of teacher to that of facilitator. In fact, the vocation of teaching can just as readily be presented as a non-didactic undertaking, oriented towards process rather than content and, what is more, it carries with it more of an ethical force than can be conveyed by the term facilitator. Martin Heidegger's description of the teacher's role is instructive in this regard:

> Teaching is more difficult than learning because what teaching calls for is this: to let learn. The real teacher, in fact, lets nothing else be learned than learning. His conduct, therefore, often produces the impression that we learn nothing from him, if by "learning" we now suddenly understand merely the procurement of useful knowledge. The teacher is ahead of his apprentices in this alone, that he has still far more to learn than they - he has to learn to let them learn.[29]

Though many would no doubt want to see a concrete reference to the transmission of specific subject matter in any definition of a teacher's role, opting for terms such as "self-directed learner" and "facilitator" merely to draw a distinction between public schooling and adult education is unnecessary. Unhappily, this terminology does have serious implications in that it leads adult learners to believe that they are making free choices when, in effect, they are being manipulated via pedagogic (andragogic...) techniques, into an accommodation with institutionalized and professionalized interests.

An attempt has been made in this essay to show how a commonsense observation that adults learn on their own has been enshrined as a guiding principle and steering technique within the modern practice of adult education. It ties in the deployment of self-directed learning as an artificial pedagogical (qua andragogical) device with an ideology of technique that intrudes into, and erodes, vital private and communal aspects of peoples' everyday lives. Self-directed learning is presented as a ruse to normalize adults' learning projects, accommodating their autonomously determined interests to those of institutionalized and professionalized needs.

If the tenor of this essay has been somewhat iconoclastic, it is because the only observations to-date on the short-comings of self-directed learning provide a level of critique, from a relativistic perspective, that has managed to incorporate itself as just another developmental phase of the self-directed learning enterprise. While calling for a critical philosophy of adult education practice and the need to facilitate critical thinking on behalf of adult learners, it steers away from any direct confrontation with the artifacts and practices which militate against genuine prospects of realizing such aims.

While this critique launched against self-directed learning strategies could benefit from the support of more tightly construed subsequent analyses, a focus on emancipation as a core concern, mentioned in the preceding section on Alternative Perspectives, would seem to offer a more profitable venture for critical theoretical research and practical discourse in adult education. With such an orientation, adult education might even begin to effect some unambiguous movement towards Thomas Hodgskin's[30] aspirations for "the education of free people".

NOTES

1. A major source of reference cited by adult educators to support this insight is The Adult's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning by Allen Tough (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Adult Education, 1971). Other works by Allen Tough which enlarge on the independent learning theme in adult education and serve as authoritative texts include Learning Without A Teacher: A Study of Tasks and Assistance during Self-Teaching Projects. 3rd Ed. (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Adult Education, 1981), "The Assistance Obtained by Adult Self-teachers," Adult Education, XVII (Autumn, 1966), 30-37, and Intentional Changes: A Fresh Approach to Helping People Change. (Chicago: Follett, 1982).

2. In The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy, 2nd Ed. (New York: Cambridge Book Co., 1980), Malcolm Knowles connects the notion of self-directed learning to the idea of andragogy first advanced by Eduard Lindeman in 1927 as "the true method of adult learning". (See Stephen Brookfield, Learning Democracy: Eduard Lindeman on Adult Education and Social Change, Beckenham, U.K.: Croom Helm, p. 27). Knowles has presented a method of adult learning (andragogy) as an array of techniques in Self-Directed Learning: A Guide for Learners and Teachers. (New York: Cambridge Book Co., 1975).

3. After all, some school teachers do aspire to take into account relevant past experience of their students, and recognize the need to encourage initiatives towards self-directedness. Their conviction that children can learn effectively without a professional teacher commanding the situation is, perhaps, borne out by the experience of children whose parents let them stay at home, and by the kind of learning experiences cultivated in "alternative" schools where the techniques described by Malcolm Knowles in Self-Directed Learning, etc. (op.cit.) would be regarded as overly directive.

   It should also be noted at this juncture that the recent professional interest in self-directed learning as a strategy for adult education has coincided with a similar concern among academic educators whose focus is the public school. (See for example, M. Gibbons, "What is Individualized Instruction?" Interchange, 1970, 1(2), 28-45 and The Process of Self-Education: A Model of Inner-Directed Learning (Vancouver, Canada: Challenge Associates, 1978) With the application of technique for self-directedness as a criterion, the distinction between the modern practice of adult education and public schooling (andragogy and pedagogy) becomes even less clear-cut.

4. William A Draves. The Free University: A Model for Lifelong Learning. (Chicago: Association Press, 1980), p. 191.

5. Malcolm Knowles. The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species. (Houston: Gulf Publishing, 1973), p. 45.

6. Allen Tough. Learning Without a Teacher, etc. (1967, reprinted 1969, revised 1977 and 1981) op.cit. (iv).

From this it is reasonable to speculate that Professor Houle's influence on "younger colleagues" has had something to do with the emergence and form of self-directed learning in adult education. During a keynote speech to the Commission of Professors of Adult Education Meetings at Milwaukee in October 1985, Houle noted that he had emphasized the importance of self-directed learning in his book The Inquiring Mind (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), and that Allen Tough, and others, had subsequently undertaken significant work in the area. Houle's major works, including a leading adult education text, The Design of Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1972), bear the stamp of the early Tylerian behavioral objectives - based orientation, and a concern with the deployment of frames of reference, blueprints for action, and various strategies conceptualized on behalf of adult educators as a cadre of professionals.

7. Allen Tough. "The Assistance Obtained by Adult Teachers", op.cit.

8. Allen Tough. The Adult's Learning Projects, etc., op.cit.

9. Allen Tough. Intentional Changes, etc., op.cit.

10. Malcolm Knowles. The Adult Learner, etc., op.cit.

11. Malcolm Knowles. The Modern Practice of Adult Education, etc., op.cit.

12. Malcolm Knowles. Self-Directed Learning, etc., op.cit.

13. Malcolm Knowles. Using Learning Contracts: Practical Approaches to Individualizing and Structuring Learning (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1986).

14. Stephen Brookfield. Learning Democracy: Eduard Lindeman on Adult Education and Social Change, op.cit., p. 27.

15. Stephen Brookfield (ed). Self-Directed Learning: From Theory to Practice. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985).

16. Stephen Brookfield. Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985).

17. Stephen Brookfield. op.cit., p. 284.

18. Stephen Brookfield. op.cit. pp. 287-298.

19. Ivan Illich. "Silence is a Commons", Coevolution Quarterly, #40, Winter 1983. p. 6.

20. Ivan Illich. Tools for Conviviality. (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). See also "Vernacular Values and Education", Teachers College Record, Vol. 81, No. 1, Fall, 1979.

According to Illich, "our roots have become weak, and the soil itself has become dry or cemented over by school yards. For those adults who get hooked on adult education, trust in the ability to figure things out on their own has rotted away." (p. 67).

21. Jurgen Habermas. Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science, and Politics. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 53.

The "colonization of the life-world" is a recurring theme in Habermas's analysis of contemporary society. In a recent work he characterizes it in these terms:

"The encroachment of forms of economic and administrative rationality into life-spheres that in fact obey the independent logic of moral-practical and aesthetic-practical rationality leads to a type of colonization of the life-world. By this I mean the impoverishment of expressive and communicative possibilities which, as far as I can see, remain necessary even in complex societies. These are the possibilities that enable individuals to find themselves, to deal with their personal conflicts and to solve their common problems communally by means of collective will-formation". Jurgen Habermas (ed.). The Spiritual Situation of the Age. Translated by Andrew Buchwalter. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), p. 20.

22. Lucy M. Guglielmino and Paul J. Guglielmino. Learning Style Assessment. (Boca Raton, Florida: Guglielmino and Associates, 1982).

23. Michel Foucault. Discipline and Punish. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 198.

24. Stephen Brookfield (ed.). Self-Directed Learning: From Theory to Practice, op.cit.

25. Stephen Brookfield. Understanding and Facilitating Adult Learning. op.cit., pp. 287-290.

26. Stephen Brookfield. ibid., p. 275.

27. Jurgen Habermas. The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society, Vol. 1. Translated by Thomas McCarthy. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1981).

For a somewhat compresed account of the concept focusing on adult education concerns, see M. Collins. "Jurgen Habermas's Concept of Communicative Action and its Implications for Adult Learning". Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings. (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1985). pp. 102-108.

28. For an account of this interpretative process, first explicated by Alfred Schutz, and its important for adult education practice, see Michael Collins, Competence in Adult Education: A New Perspective (Lanham, M.D.: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 4-12.

29. Martin Heidegger. What is Called Thinking? (Translated by J. Glenngray), (New York, N.Y. Harper & Row Inc., 1968), p. 15.

30. Thomas Hodgskin tied his aspirations to the mechanics institutes which

increased in number throughout Britain at an impressive rate during the 1820's and 1830's. See M. Collins. "The Mechanics' Institutes-Education for the Working Man?" Adult Education: Journal of Research and Theory, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 37-47.

CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS IN UNIVERSITY/INDUSTRY CONTINUING EDUCATION

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Adult educators practicing in a university continuing education unit often find themselves in the role of conflict mediators when working with training and development people in government and business. Both the academic and the training and development communities hold certain basic assumptions about education, training and development and about each other. Both communities often assume that their assumptions are universally shared. If they are not universally shared then perhaps the university continuing educator is dealing with two different organizational cultures.

Education, training and development conducted within an industrial or government organization by university faculty members will run a high risk of failure if the theoretical and learning frameworks employed are radically different from those acceptable to the culture of that organization (Tartell; 1987). The difference in culture between organizations can be quite substantial (Deal & Kennedy; 1982) and vastly different from the culture in a university faculty or college (Orris; 1986). Continuing educators who have had the opportunity to work with the corporate and government community realize that there are often very different ideas about how training and organization development should be conducted. Adult educators practicing in a university continuing education unit often find themselves in the role of having to interpret these different ideas to each of the two parties. This paper will attempt to identify and discuss some of these differing assumptions held by the training community and university faculty members.

Organizational Culture

Schein (1986) states that "... the training and organization development community has developed an occupational culture that has come to be taken for granted." Based on this work, it should be possible to identify for both groups the "basic underlying assumptions" which he (Schein; 1985) states are the root of a culture. It is also possible that the differences a university continuing educator faces when dealing with both groups consists only of "espoused values" as defined by Argyris and Schon (1978). Espoused values are those values which people may talk about but in a situation where these values should be operating they may act differently from what was verbalized. Basic underlying assumptions, however, are so taken for granted that one would find little or no variation within a culture on the application of these values. Basic underlying assumptions are so deep and so unconsciously held that action based on any other premise would be inconceivable. Schein (1986) defines culture as ". . . this pattern of automatic assumptions, unconsciously held and taken for granted" (p. 31).

To an outsider, the most visible form of an organization´s culture is what Schein (1985) calls its artifacts. Artifacts are a result of the physical and social environment that the organization has created and includes such things as its structure, its written and spoken language and the overt behavior of its members. This paper will focus primarily on the artifacts of the training and development groups in organizations and secondarily on the values that they espouse and work from. It will also focus on the way the training and development groups see the artifacts of the academic community as a prelude to a more extensive study and analysis to determine any basic underlying assumptions.

Interviews were conducted with a number of training and development managers to determine some of the artifacts and espoused values that their organizations held. They were asked to comment, from their perspective, on the differing assumptions they saw between themselves and university faculty members. They were prompted with a few items that Orris (1986) indicated caused "creative tensions" (speed of response, control of content, selection of faculty) and then allowed to express their own concerns. The next section will discuss these concerns.

Concerns

Not all of the concerns that will be described have both an industry and an academic side and those that do will be described using the extreme ends of a spectrum. This is not to suggest that all organizations or all university faculty fit these extremes, only that the extreme positions initially provide clearer contrasts. In some instances, items that are of great concern to the organization would, rightly, be of only passing concern to a faculty member. The concerns that follow are not listed in any particular order of priority.

Focus. The organization is looking for some very specific job related competencies that should be learned and transferred to the job. They want the participants to develop skills in these competencies, most of which relate to current job demands. The organization wants the focus of the instructor to be on the participants' learning and on the transferability of these newly learned competencies to the job.

The training and development managers see the university faculty member as most concerned with teaching or the presentation of knowledge. This knowledge is seen as much more long term and career oriented rather than related to current job demands. The programs presented by university faculty are often general, conceptual and discipline bound. The organizations do not see the faculty member as taking seriously the responsibility of imparting practical, transferable competencies to the participants.

Learning goals. The organization normally works with pre-defined learning goals which are job related, immediately applicable and at least in part, determined by management preference. The trainer in the organization is held responsible for the on-the-job success of the learning and therefore has as a goal the setting of a climate which will allow learning to happen. The results expected from any continuing education is improved on-the-job performance.

The training and development managers see the academic as having the learning goals of broadening the participant, making them think and awakening their minds to other possibilities. The academic is seen as less concerned about the learning climate since the responsibility for learning is assumed to be the participants. They are seen as being concerned for only one small part of a students requirement for a degree.

Speed of response. Industry and government organizations view training and development as one means of solving currently identified problems. The sooner a program is implemented the better since the resolution of the problem should increase the organizations effectiveness and its profitability. To quote one trainer´s viewpoint; "If you can´t do it yesterday, how about today?" Universities are seen as working on a semester or academic year cycle and faculty members normally need planning time both to develop a program and to arrange any needed changes in their teaching schedules.

Program content and faculty. The training manager wants to be in control of the course content because success is related to the transferability of the content to the job. Since the organization is paying the bill, the managers feel they can demand what "they want." They want the content to be up to date and to deal with specifics for their organization. The organization wants the university to provide "their best" faculty, with best being defined as a faculty member who: is knowledgeable and credible; has had relevant and current industry experience; and has well developed presentation skills with an adult audience. Group participation, role plays and case studies are seen as essential for participants to share experiences and to develop their new skills.

The university is also seen as wanting to provide "their best" faculty but again this is based on the academic assumptions and point of view. The university is seen as defining "their best" faculty in terms of academic rank, tenure, research, scholarship and academic expertise. The training managers see the preferred method of instruction by faculty members as still being the lecture. Group participation methods, when used, are seen as something in addition to the lecture and nonessential, or as a break from lecturing for the instructor.

The training managers see the academic as tending to listen to the organization´s requirements and then saying "this is what you need." The faculty´s view of the content is usually more general and discipline based than required by the organization. The organization sees the academic as wanting to present from a conceptual model with which they are already familiar and are used to teaching.

Faculty motivation. Corporate training and development practitioners see using university faculty to instruct in their programs as a mutually beneficial exercise. They see the organization as obtaining access to highly knowledgeable instruction while the individual faculty member is seen as keeping in touch with the real world and obtaining experience that will enhance their marketability as consultants.

Faculty members often receive very little credit or recognition toward tenure or promotion for conducting organizational training, unless such activities can be tied into a research project or if they will result in a publication credit. If the faculty member is not able to get recognition inside the university culture for corporate training then often their only reward is a financial one.

Financial considerations. The faculty member often does not see any financial concerns other than that of personal payment. The corporate training manager, on the other hand, is very concerned with the total cost of any training or development that will occur. These include not only all the direct costs but such hidden costs as participants wages and loss of productivity while on course. As well as wanting course content to be practical training managers want a quick payback, both in financial terms and in terms of skills transfer to the job. Any training and development undertaken must be cost effective to the organization in terms of future effectiveness and productivity.

While organizations are certainly willing to pay for what they receive there is the perception that universities, as tax supported institutions, should be less expensive sources of training and development than other commercial sources. Universities on the other hand see corporate training as a revenue producing area and as a method of obtaining corporate financial support.

The training and development managers see the university much as they do a commercial source in other respects, however. They assume that university continuing educators operate as they do and so expect them to have "up front" or "walking around" money. That is, they assume that the university is willing to spend some money in order to acquire corporate clients. Universities often see any money needed as coming in from the client organization and that any project undertaken should be self supporting right from the start. In general, universities are not seen as willing to take many up front risks.

The organizations who utilize university faculty members, whether directly or through a university continuing education unit, expect to be paying primarily for teaching time. If they are contracting with an expert they feel that there should be little need, other than customizing for their organization, for preparation time. University faculty are sometimes perceived as greedy for wanting to be paid for preparation and customizing time as well as for teaching time.

Timing. Organizations would prefer, in varying degrees, to see as much training and development conducted on the employee's time as possible. They feel that training and development is an investment not only for the organization but also for the individual. If the organization is paying for the training then perhaps the employee should invest some of their non-work time. The academic community is seen as neutral on this topic except that faculty members would prefer training events to be offered on week days rather than evenings or weekends. They would also prefer the timing of any activity not to conflict with their regular teaching load.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed some of the concerns and assumptions of training and development managers which can be critical to successful cooperation in joint university and industry continuing education programs. Organizations want continuing education programs that are: job and solution oriented; targeted to their organization; with immediate skills transfer to the job; taught by credible faculty members who have had relevant experience. Universities are seen as providing continuing education programs of a general, conceptual, discipline based nature for the long term betterment of the individual participant, using faculty whose concern is mainly scholarship and research.

It could be said that the organizational managers are speaking from the perspective of "training" and their interpretation of university faculty responses focus on the academics´ concentration on "education." This is partially true since the organizational training and development managers want the university faculty members to work for them in a more "training" oriented setting. To reduce all the differences to a training/education debate hides the insight that might result from looking at the differences in culture between organizational training and development and the university.

This study provides a starting point. It is now necessary to determine the basic underlying assumptions in order to more precisely define a training and development culture. Further research also needs to be conducted to look at university/industry continuing education from an academic perspective. The findings may well help university continuing educators to act as better intermediaries and conflict mediators between organizational training and development practitioners and university faculties.

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Housing Co-ops: Adult Education for Social Change
Presentation at CASAE Conference 1987

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Context

Continuing non-profit housing co-operatives have been in existence in Canada since 1964. Today there are approximately 1,100 housing co-ops providing shelter for 130,000 people. Continuing non-profit housing co-ops are subsidized by federal and provincial governments through reduced mortgage interest and direct subsidy for low income members. The guideline for housing charges is that members pay between 25-30% of their gross income for shelter. This concept of affordable housing creates communities of mixed income people who control their own shelter needs by democratic process. The intention of the non-profit co-op housing movement is to create a stock of housing for Canadians which is always owned and controlled collectively by the people who live there and which cannot be sold for profit. The underlying assumption is that shelter is a basic human right and adequate housing should be available for those who do not wish to rent and cannot afford to buy a home. Co-op housing occurs most frequently in urban areas, and is particularly welcomed by single parents, handicapped people, senior citizens and anyone on a fixed income, as well as people who seek involvement with a community.

It can be argued that the development of co-operative housing in Canada is a movement for social change. Creating quality subsidized housing not as a handout to the under-priviledged but on the basis of self-help and mutual aid, led by the assumption that people can learn to take control and manage their housing needs is an innovative approach to the growing urban housing shortages. Individual empowerment also occurs when people develop new living skills through volunteering in their co-op and in some cases leads to future employment. Social change occurs then, on an individual economic level and a social, macro-level.

Since the development of co-operative housing in Canada is supported and funded by governments, this form of social change falls within the equilibrium paradigm rather than a conflict paradigm of social change. (Paulston 1976) That is to say that the desired change is achieved gradually without major resistance from the dominant society. The success of co-op housing movement as an agent of social change lies in the degree to which co-ops will survive in the long term as functioning communities providing quality, affordable housing for their members.

Social change is facilitated by the following activities and conditions: (Kidd, 1971)
a) training in "animation sociale" or community development
b) committment to change
c) long term planning
d) resources and institutions in support of the desired change

Education within the co-op housing sector addresses these four conditions. Resources and institutions exist to support the movement in the form of a national organization - Co-operative Housing Foundation of Canada (CHF), and 10 regional organizations such as the Co-operative Housing Federation of B.C. (CHF/BC). Education is moving more in the direction of a community development model as is detailed later in this presentation. Long term planning for a co-op, though essential for co-op survival, is as yet not valued or done in many co-ops. The issue of committment to change is the most difficult to influence because most people join a co-op when they need shelter not because they are ideologically committed to co-operatives or to social change. Only through a positive experience of living in a housing co-op will this committment grow.

Facing housing co-operatives today is the educational challenge of making them work as positive, human communities as well as properly managed businesses. Education in housing co-ops requires that an individual be motivated to learn not only for him or herself but also for their community. The concept of individual advancement through collective advancement is foreign to many people in this society.

CHF/BC Education Program

CHF/BC is a non-profit co-operative created in 1982 to provide services to housing co-ops in B.C. It is supported by member dues and grants and provides a variety of services. (see Appendix A) Co-operatives are organized in a Board and committee structure (see appendix B) and participants in the education program are motivated by their role in the co-op. For example workshops on financial management attracts members on the finance committee. Using an education budget, the co-op pays the workshop fee for any member who wishes to attend. During the first two years, the Federation offered workshops in a traditional adult education mode similar to a non-credit continuing education program. Workshops that should have appealed to co-op members were offered, yet enrollment was dropping. For a co-op, the traditional method of sending participants to workshops was to tell all the members what was available and see if anyone volunteered to attend. Workshops were developed in central Canada and delivered in the regions either by local instructors who had been certified by CHF (Canada), or by instructors sent out specifically to deliver a workshop.

When the Federation experienced difficulty in filling their workshops, a 10 month educational needs assessment was undertaken to try to alter the program to better serve the client group. Surveys on the following groups were conducted:

a) Federation staff and volunteers (66% return)
b) Instructors (66% return)
c) Workshop participants (33 sample)
d) Committees responsible for education in the co-op (33% return)
e) individual co-op members (33% return)

The following 12 recommendations for changes to the program were adopted by the Board of CHF/BC in December, 1985.

1) Review of Education Philosophy
CHF/BC adopt a community development approach to education, working closely with co-ops to help them develop the social and economic awareness and skills in their membership to enable them to take democratic responsibility for the management of their housing co-op.

2) Need for an Education Co-opdinator
CHF/BC budget for an education co-ordinator to work with the adminstrator and education committee to develop and maintain a flexible and innovative program compatible with the philosophy of the organization.

3) Education Committee Responsibilities
CHF/BC develop a clear job description for education committee members to include a description of duties, time committment, and skills required. Active recruitment of volunteers be initiated. Education committee members be properly oriented to CHF/BC and their role as a volunteer.

4) Instructor - CHF/BC Relationship
CHF/BC make it a priority to develop a professional relationship with its instructors to include job descriptions, recruiting and evaluation procedures, contracts, policies for assigning workshops and payment. At least two training sessions per year be provided for instructors, not to conflict with the CHF instructor certification program. CHF/BC develop an information resource pool for instructors to aid in developing handouts and workshop material.

5) Education Liaison with Co-ops
An education liaison volunteer be recruited from each member co-op to help ensure information from CHF/BC is distributed to appropriate people in the co-op, and to provide feedback to CHF/BC about education needs in co-ops.

6) Prescheduled Program
Short workshops be offered as part of the regular prescheduled program. Content of the short workshops to be extracted from the courses presently offered and cover other issues as the need arises.

7) Outreach Program
Emphasis be placed on CHF/BC's delivery of workshops tailored to co-op's needs (special requests, consultation and G.E.S.) which encourage and promote co-ops to assess their own learning needs.

8) Developing New Workshops
CHF/BC establish a procedure for planning, developing and evaluating new workshops not available through CHF, which will ensure that a high education standard is attained.

9) Educating Co-op Education Committees
CHF/BC provide workshops and consultation on education planning, delivery and evaluation to co-op education committees with the aim of helping co-ops determine their educational needs and organize their own education planning.

10) Resource Groups - CHF/BC Co-operation
CHF/BC set up an education planning relationship with resource groups. By co-operating on materials, methods, expertise and training, these organizations could ensure that co-op education during development is related to co-op education after development.

11) Resource Center
CHF/BC investigate the development of a resource center for co-op members to encourage co-op networking, increase awareness of co-op issues and education in co-ops.

12) Public information
CHF/BC investigate various possibilities for providing basic public information about co-op housing in order to increase public awareness and lend more credibility to the Federation.

Implementation Progress

The recommendations were adopted 18 months ago, and since the the following changes have begun.

Network of education liaisons:

CHF/BC is developing a network of "education liaisons" in co-ops who receive all information related to education and distribute it within the co-op. This serves to create awareness in the co-op of the education program available and is more effective because it involves a member of the co-op rather than an outsider.

In addition to communicating with the CHF/BC education co-ordinator regularily, education liaisons participate in an annual "Education Forum" where co-ops can have input into the development of next years education program. Participation in the development and planning of the program has increased general interest in this service.

Consultation & Training for Education Committees:

The study showed that one of the major blocks to education was the co-op member's lack of knowledge of the value and practice of member education. Training was available to boards, finance and maintenance committees, but not for education committees. In fact, many co-ops do not have education committees even though one of the principles which guides the co-operative movement is to provide on-going member education. CHF/BC began providing free education consultations to co-ops who wished to start education committees. The purpose of the consultation is to clarify the roles and responsibilities of such a committee, and to provide a framework for developing education in the co-op. A workshop was also developed to provide more hands-on experience in training lay educators, covering topics such as program planning, and adult education theory. The emphasis is to help co-op members learn basic skills to assess their co-op's learning needs in order to better use their education budget and to eliminate problems caused by lack of education. There is increased participation in the CHF/BC education program after a co-op has requested an education consultation.

Tailor-Made Workshops:

Transference of knowledge back to the co-op is a problem when only one or two people attend a workshop. For this reason, CHF/BC now offers workshops tailor-made to a specific co-op. The instructor delivers a workshop on location to one co-op only and takes into consideration the specific needs of that co-op. This allows for more immediate and extensive attention to the problem that co-ops may be experiencing. Practice change in the co-op is higher than workshops where people from many co-ops attend and the subject is discussed in more generic terms. Workshops open opportunities or networking between co-ops.

Locally Developed Workshops:

To keep the program innovative and responsive to needs expressed by client groups, CHF/BC is developing workshops rather than waiting for a national level response. Local control of program development also takes into consideration regional differences related to provincial legislation.

Instructor Training:

The need for regional instructor training in adult education practice and facilitation skills has become more urgent. Instructors must be proficient in process as well as content if adult education is to encourage community development as well as individual learning. An instructor training program is presently under development.

The challenge of CHF/BC's education program is to teach housing co-operatives as organizations the importance of member education in producing healthy, viable communities. The practice of adult education can lead to the value and practice of co-operation. Education opportunities for members must become the norm rather than the exception if housing co-operatives are to lead to social change and personal empowerment.

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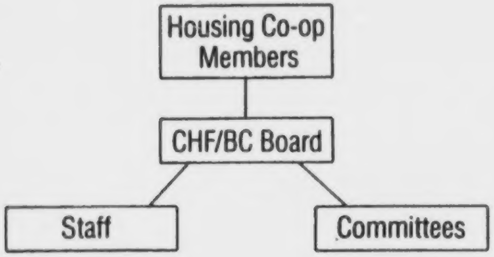
Organization Structure



The Board is elected by housing co-op members. CHF/BC committees includes education, finance, personnel, editorial and fundraising.

The Federation is Financed By:

- ☐ membership fees on a per unit basis
- ☐ grants from The Co-operative Housing Foundation of Canada and Resource Groups
- ☐ supplementary Government grants for special projects

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COHO Management

In response to the needs of our member co-ops COHO Management Services Society was established to provide management services to housing co-ops. COHO is a non-profit society reporting and accountable directly to the membership of CHF/BC.

For More Information

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Co-operative Housing Federation of B.C.

**Serving the Needs
and promoting the Interests of
B.C. Housing Co-ops and their members.**

The Co-operative Housing Federation of B.C.

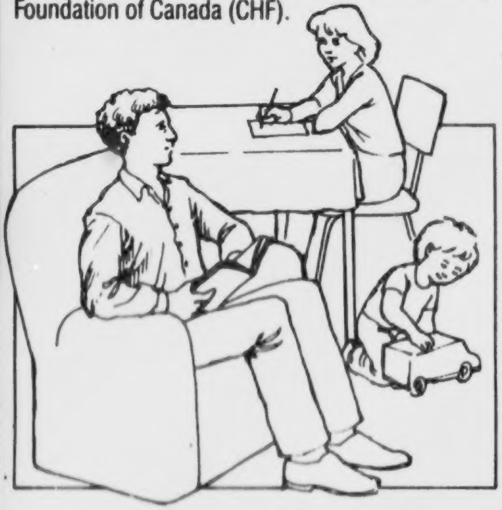
Supplies services to B.C. housing co-ops and is accountable to its members. CHF/BC helps new co-ops benefit from the experience of older co-ops, represents housing co-ops to the public and to the provincial government.

A Growing Regional Movement

In response to the needs of co-ops in B.C., the Federation was formed in July of 1982, with 40 member co-ops. We provide a communication link between B.C. co-ops, and inform our members about the broader issues affecting all of us. CHF/BC membership now involves over 70% of all occupied and developing co-ops in B.C.

Linked Across Canada

CHF/BC is linked to provincial federations, resource groups and other housing groups through membership in the Co-operative Housing Foundation of Canada (CHF).



Member Services

Education Program

Workshop Subjects:

- ☐ Co-op Management (Boards and Committees)
- ☐ Financial Management
- ☐ Accounting
- ☐ Legal Issues
- ☐ Membership Development
- ☐ Leadership Development
- ☐ Newsletter Production
- ☐ Maintenance

GES (Guided Exchange Seminar)

CHF/BC provides seminars to discuss issues which arise in co-ops from time to time. Such topics as Income Verification, Over-Under Housing & Participation have been discussed in this forum. We're open to any suggestions you may have for GESes.

Special Request Workshops

CHF/BC provides workshops and consultation specially designed for your co-op's needs. You can request workshops on a wide range of subjects. Please call the office for details.

Newsletter

SCOOP, the Federation's newsletter, is mailed 10 times a year to over 6,000 groups and individuals in B.C. and across Canada. It provides a link between co-op members, the Federation, and others involved in the co-op housing movement, bringing news on the local, regional and national level.

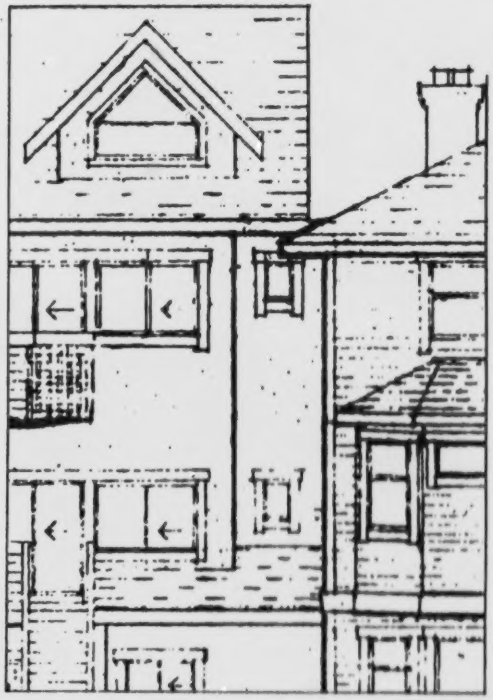
SCOOP welcomes contributions from its readers.

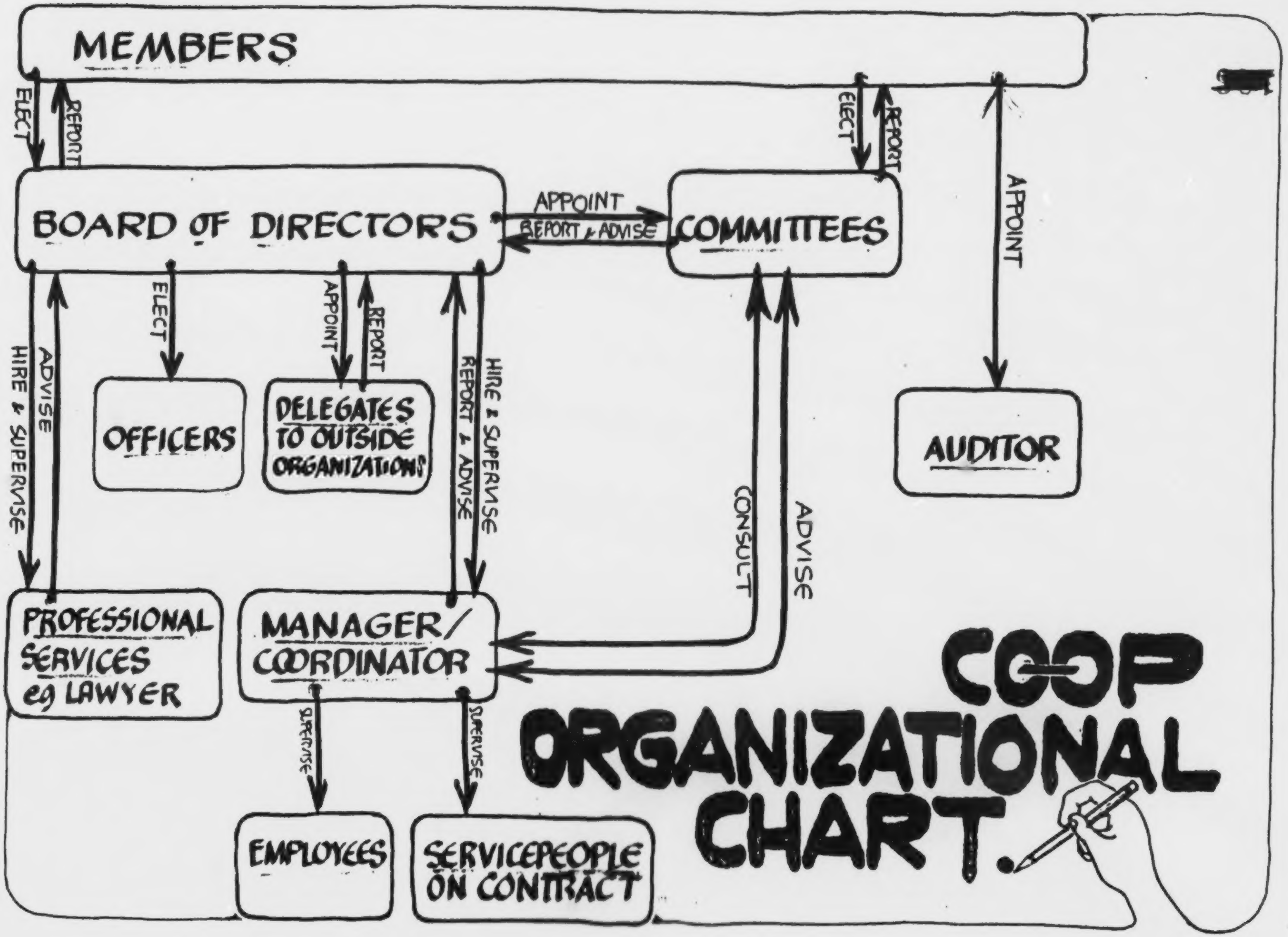
Resources

1. General information and referral.
2. Mediation (one free session to member co-ops).
3. Assistance with member education.
4. Speakers for co-ops and the public.

Films

Battle of Beach Hall (16mm) 28 mins.
Seniors save their homes
Castlegreen (16mm) 59 mins.
The story of one co-op
We Aim To Stay, a 21 min. sound slide
show on B.C. co-ops
Not Just a Place to Live, a 12 min.
Video (VHS) on Co-operative Housing in B.C.




MEMBERS
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OFFICERS
DELEGATES TO OUTSIDE ORGANIZATIONS
AUDITOR
CONSULT
ADVISE
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES eg LAWYER
MANAGER/ COORDINATOR
SUPERVISE
SUPERVISE
EMPLOYEES
SERVICEPEOPLE ON CONTRACT
COOP ORGANIZATIONAL CHART.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT LEARNED RESOURCEFULNESS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

Presented by:

Cora Hinds, R.N., B.Sc.N., M.Sc.N.

(Doctoral Candidate, OISE, Adult Education)

ABSTRACT

TITLE: Analysis of the Concept Learned Resourcefulness: Explanation of the PRC Model. Implications for Practitioners.

AUTHOR: Cora Hinds, R.N., B.Sc.N., M.Sc.N.
(Doctoral Candidate, OISE., Adult Education).

Concept analysis requires systematic examination of the attributes of a given concept for the purpose of clarifying the meaning of that concept. Meichenbaum (1977) first applied the term learned resourcefulness in the context of coping skills training. The concept was adopted and defined by Rosenbaum (1980a) as an acquired repertoire of behaviors and skills (mostly cognitive) by which a person self-regulates internal responses, such as, emotions, pain and cognitions that interefere with smooth execution of ongoing behavior.

An analysis of the concept learned resourcefulness and implications for practitioners concerned with facilitating the development of coping skills in clients will be discussed.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT LEARNED RESOURCEFULNESS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

Author: Cora Hinds, R.N., B.Sc.N., M.Sc.N.
(Doctoral Candidate, OISE, Adult Education)

Introduction

The concept learned resourcefulness is just beginning to be encountered in the literature. Thus, it has been subjected to very little scrutiny and examination. Concepts it is well known, are abstractions of concrete events, they are our only means of connecting an empirical science to the 'the real world'. They are the imaginative constructions of scholars and scientists, created in an effort to understand the world as they conceive it. Thus, plausibility, adequacy and accuracy, and not truth, become the important considerations in evaluating the explanation of a set of phenomena (Blascovich & Ginsburg, 1978, p. 227).

Wilson (1963) also noted that questions of concept are not questions of fact, nor are they questions of value, nor are they questions concerned with meanings of words, or a definition of words. They are concerned with the uses of words and with the criteria or principles by which those uses are determined (p. 11).

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The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of the concept learned resourcefulness using a modified approach of the method suggested by Wilson (1963). Secondly, a look at the implications use of the concept might have for professionals concerned with client (adult) development and coping skills.

Concept analysis deals with a very sophisticated form of communication. It requires rigor and precision, yet the end product is often inexact and tenuous (Wilson, 1963). The major techniques for analysing concepts suggested by Wilson, which have been used to guide this presentation are as follows:

1) Model cases - the description and analysis of an instance which represents the concept. In this paper, a review of the original concept will be substituted for this step.
2) Contrary cases - the description and analysis of an instance that is an opposite view of the concept being analysed.
3) Related cases - the description and analysis of an instance similar to the concept being presented, or in some way importantly connected with it.
4) Borderline cases - the description and analysis of an instance one is not quite sure about, to see what is different, odd or queer about it.

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5) Identifying criteria that may be used in naming occurrences of the phenomenon.

Review of Original Concept

Learned resourcefulness is a relatively new concept. The term was first used by Meichenbaum (1977) who applied the term in the context of coping skills training. He held the position that, once clients acquire coping skills, they change their perceptions of their condition from 'learned helplessness' to 'learned resourcefulness'. Rosenbaum (1980a) later adopted the concept learned resourcefulness. He used it to portray the evaluative process an individual uses in order to respond to a life event. This notion was premised on the assumption that individuals were equipped with a system of skills which were learned from birth on through the lifespan. These skills he termed behavioral repertoires, or personality repertoires.

Learned resourcefulness is operationally defined as a repertoire of behaviors and skills by which a person self-regulates internal responses that interfere with the smooth execution of ongoing behavior (Rosenbaum, 1980a). The aim is not the total elimination of events but, rather, the self-regulation of internal events in order to minimize the undesirable effects of these events on behavior. It is evident, that individual characteristics play an important role in the conceptualization of learned resourcefulness. These seem to involve a set of 'enabling

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skills' and behaviors, or what Antonovsky (1979) would refer to as 'resistance resources' which serve to neutralize otherwise debilitating effects of stressful life events.

The concept learned resourcefulness derives from an extension of earlier work done under the label of self control. Rosenbaum (1980a) developed a 36 item self-report measure, the Self-Control Schedule (SCS), to assess specific kinds of self-controlling behaviors. These behaviors were categorized as follows:

1) use of cognitions and 'self-statements' to control emotional and physiological responses;
2) application of problem-solving strategies (e.g. planning, problem-definition, evaluating alternatives, anticipation of consequences);
3) the ability to delay immediate gratification, and;
4) perceived self-efficacy.

The schedule was developed on the assumption that self-control is learned and, since individuals differ in their learning histories, it can be assumed that there will be substantial individual differences in self-control behavior. Individuals responding to this assessment schedule are divided at the median into high categories of resourcefulness and low resourcefulness, based on their scores obtained on this instrument.

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During the instrument's development it was reportedly subjected to rigorous evaluation for its content by professionals, as well as, its psychometric properties. Subsequent use of the SCS schedule as a measure of learned resourcefulness in several studies (Rosenbaum, 1980a, 1980b; Rosenbaum and Ben-Ari, 1985; Rosenbaum & Palmon, 1984; Redden, Tucker & Young, 1983; Richards, 1985), found it to be a reliable and valid measure of self-control. Of course, issue could be taken with what appears to be an arbitrary decision by Rosenbaum to use the median as the dividing line for categorising persons into high and low resourcefulness. Perhaps a division into high, medium and low may have allowed for a more appropriate distribution of the scores to reflect an individual's level of resourcefulness beyond that of two extremes. As well, his use of a self-report measure for assessing self-controlling behaviors may trigger criticism. Here, I echo, Turk & Kern's (1985) position cautioning wholesale rejection of self-report measures. They offer the following reasons:

1) none of the alternative assessment procedures available has proven to be completely satisfactory and unproblematic;
2) self-reports may be the only techniques, or the best ones available, to obtain information that is inaccessible by alternative types of measurement.

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Rosenbaum has approached the definition and measurement of the concept learned resourcefulness in a scholarly manner. In the process, he has offered several insightful thoughts about the nature of this concept. The behaviors set out for identification of this concept (stated earlier), given its stage of development, are both reasonable and plausible. In addition, much of the research done using his self-control schedule for assessing learned resourcefulness has been encouraging. For example, studies did differentiate abilities in high and low resourceful subjects. High resourceful subjects were found to do better with therapy; they also coped better with aversiveness (Simons et al, 1985; Rosenbaum, 1980b; Rosenbaum, & Palmon, 1984; Rosenbaum & Rolnick, 1980). Given these reasons it justifiably serves as a model case in this analysis. It is not enough, however, to extol the merits of the original concept. Reynolds (1971) reminds us that the most important feature of any scientific term used to indicate a concept, is the degree of agreement about its meaning, ie., agreement about the nature of the concept. In the ensuing sections of this paper selected alternate works will be considered to bring into clearer focus the meaning of the concept learned resourcefulness.

Contrary Case

To demonstrate a contrary idea, the concept learned helplessness has been selected. The original theory of learned

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helplessness (Seligman, 1975) holds the position that people become inactive and depressed when their actions cannot affect what happens to them. They come to expect that future responding will be futile, hence, they no longer try, even in situations in which they could achieve desired results through their behavior. The reformulated theory of learned helplessness (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978), shifts from the belief that one's performances will go unrewarded to the belief that one cannot produce the performances needed for success. The learned helplessness model focuses on subjects' actual or perceived control over external events (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale; Seligman, 1975), whereas Rosenbaum's concept focuses on internal events.

The two-process theory of learned helplessness proposed by Koller & Kaplan (1978) is worth mentioning. They view helplessness as having both motivational and cognitive aspects. According to their two-process theory, the nature of the feedback (success or failure) determines subjects' motivational level, whereas the stimulus-response contingency provides information about the correct solution to the problem. Non-contingent success induces motivation to perform, whereas, non-contingent failure discourages subjects. It becomes clear that the interest and focus of the learned helplessness pheonomenon are in opposition to that of the learned-resourcefulness concept. The learned

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helplessness concept focuses on behavioral control over external events, whereas, learned resourcefulness emphasizes control over internal events such as emotion and cognition. Much of the research conducted on the learned helplessness phenomenon focuses on response-outcome expectancies, while research on learned resourcefulness focus on self-efficacy expectancies. The learned-helplessness concept is therefore an antithesis of the learned resourcefulness phenomenon.

Related Approaches

Related cases help in differentiating and refining further the original concept. Rosenbaum's conceptualization of learned resourcefulness builds on the theoretical base for understanding self-regulatory (self-controlling) behavior provided by the writings of Bandura (1977, 1978), Meichenbaum (1977), Kanfer (1980), Lazarus (1966), Lazarus & Launier (1978) and Goldfried (1980). Three of these authors' works will be cited in this section of the paper.

Kanfer (1970, 1980), using an interactional model, postulated that behavior is determined by three interacting variables: situational, self-generated and biological. He views self-control as a particular type of self-regulation, differentiating between the two terms. Self-regulation is applied in situations where a person directs his own behavior. He reserved self-control for instances where the behavior to be

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executed or avoided is conflictual (Kanfer 1980, p. 338). He identified three stages of the self-regulatory process namely; self-monitoring, self-evaluation and self-reinforcement. The process is initiated only when the individual believes his or her actions could change the situation. His model explains instances when a person is most likely to employ his or her resource skills. The learned resourcefulness concept, while it does make reference to a behavioral repertoire that is employed by an individual to self-regulate internal events, does not address the issue of when or why the resource skill will be accessed.

Bandura (1978) also proposed an interactional model of self-regulation. His model is premised on the assumption that human actions are determined by a reciprocal interaction between cognitions, situations, and behavior. Like Kanfer, his model focuses mainly on the motivational aspects of the self-regulatory system. Bandura's concept of perceived self-efficacy (1977) forms one of the cognitive structures that guide and direct behavior and these, in turn, are modified by behavioral and situational variables. These variables determine whether an individual will initiate coping behavior, how much effort will be expended, and how long it will be sustained in the face of obstacles and aversive experiences (Bandura, 1977, p. 191). However, like Kanfer's conceptualization, Bandura's main focus is on self-motivation and it deals only indirectly with the specific

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skills needed in the process of self-regulation of internal events. Given their thrust, they are both related and complementary to Rosenbaum's concept of learned resourcefulness (self-control skills).

Also related, is the approach taken by Meichenbaum (1977) to the self-control process. He presents a three stage process of self-control which involves: self-observation, self-modification, and 'internal dialogue'. Individuals he believes, could be taught specific skills such as self-relaxation, problem-solving and self-instructions, which would enable them to cope more effectively with future stressful life events. In this regard, his notion of self-control is related to learned resourcefulness in that it suggests specific skills similar to those which are involved in Rosenbaum's concept.

This presentation of related approaches to conceptualizing self-control is by no means exhaustive. The contributions of the three authors cited have been important to the conceptualization and development of the concept learned resourcefulness. While their works hold some of the key attributes of the concept, none has identified all of the essential features that form Rosenbaum's conceptualization. Table I is a comparison of the essential attributes of Rosenbaum's self-control with the related approaches cited.

TABLE I

Comparison of essential attributes of Self Control (Rosenbaum's learned resourcefulness) with related approaches.

Attributes	Rosenbaum	Kanfer	Meichenbaum	Bandura
1. Cognitive strategies, e.g.	X	X	X	X
-self monitoring -self evaluation -self observation -self modification -internal dialogue -self-instruction, self relaxation				
2. Problem-Solving	X		X	
3. Delay gratification	X	X		
-self reinforcement				
4. Perceived self-efficacy	X			X

Borderline Concept

A borderline situation is said to exist where one is not quite sure whether an instance of the phenomenon being analysed exists. Kobasa's (1979) concept of 'hardiness' is selected to demonstrate this point. Hardiness, according to Kobasa, is a personality disposition which mitigates the otherwise debilitating effects of stressful life events. The function is that of 'resistance resources'. The concept is characterized by commitment, control and challenge. It has both cognitive and behavioral (action) components.

Committed persons, using Kobasa's interpretation, are seen to have a generalized sense of purpose that allows them to identify with and find meaningful the events, things, and persons of their environment. They do not give up easily and, when faced with a stressful situation, employ active rather than passive and avoidance approaches.

Control reflects the tendency to feel and act as if one can influence things in the face of varied contingencies of life (Averill, 1973; Phares, 1976; Seligman, 1975). As a coping response, sense of control leads to actions aimed at transforming events into something that is consistent with an ongoing life plan, thus becoming less jarring (Kobasa, 1982, p. 169). Control appears to be responsible for the development of a broad and varied repertoire of responses to stress. It mimics to some

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extent Rosenbaum's concept of self-control (learned resourcefulness).

The challenge aspect of hardiness is seen as a belief that change rather than stability is growth producing and not threat inducing. It leads to effective appraisal of threatening circumstances. In sum, Kobasa's hardiness concept has some of the salient features of learned resourcefulness. It would seem to serve some similar functions as 'resistance resources' in coping with stressful events. It is not however, an exact match, coming closest to a common criterion on the control component of hardiness in mediating response to threatening life events.

The conceptual analysis of learned resourcefulness offered in this paper was an attempt to clarify the term as a distinct and unique concept. The techniques used in the analysis suggests the conclusion that learned resourcefulness should be treated as a conceptually distinct term. The concept 'learned helplessness' was shown to be an antithesis of learned resourcefulness. Related approaches cited failed to meet all the essential criteria stipulated by Rosenbaum. Although Kobasa's 'hardiness' concept has both cognitive and behavioral components as does Rosenbaum's learned resourcefulness, it is conceptually different in its characterization which is marked by commitment, challenge and control.

Implications

I will conclude this paper by highlighting some areas and suggesting ways this concept might be utlized by practitioners concerned with assisting clients (adults) develop coping skills to deal with the many and varied life events they encounter. Underlying Rosenbaum's concept of learned resourcefulness is the assumption that self-control is learned, and that this learnable skill begins to develop at birth and continues throughout lifespan. In addition, this skill can be taught, and training is believed to increase one's level of resourcefulness. Likewise, studies have shown that there are individual differences in levels of resourcefulness. Highly resourceful individuals, for instance, were found to do better with treatments and to cope better with aversive situations.

How, then, can practitioners benefit from what is known of this behavioral asset? Assessment of one's learned resourcefulness might provide a useful selection criterion for identifying clients, who would benefit most from interventions requiring self-control skills. Intervention strategies could be developed on the basis of one's level of resourcefulness reflected in scores one obtains on the assessment schedule. For example, high resourceful individuals who presumably possess a substantial pre-existing repertoire of these skills or abilities might, when faced with stressful life events, such as a diagnosis of cancer,

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benefit from treatment programs which capitalize on these abilities. Likewise, educational programs could be designed with the same aim in view, i.e., utilizing these skills to the best advantage.

Increasingly, caregivers are requesting, even expecting clients to assume responsibility for aspects of their care. High resourceful clients could conceivably be the ones who will do best with modalities that have a heavy emphasis on self-responsibility. The self initiative orientation of the concept also lends itself to the selection or identification of persons who will gain the most from self-directed learning experiences. On the other hand, individuals who exhibit low resourcefulness might require a different approach. Their low level of preexisting self-control strategies might be enhanced and their coping skills increased by providing more basic training in these skills, for example, in self-awareness, problem-solving, self-evaluation, self-assertiveness etc.

Practitioners, therefore, who are aware of individuals' level of resourcefulness could more appropriately intervene to assist them to enchance their coping skills in order to confront experiences both positive and negative, which are encountered throughout the life cycle. In conclusion, it is my opinion that the concept learned resourcefulness will lend itself to many exciting and fruitful pursuits.

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METHODOLOGICAL DILEMMAS IN EVALUATING DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

Lise Darveau-Fournier, M.S.S.*
Alice Home, Ph.D.**

Adult educators are increasingly aware of the need to become involved in programme evaluation. Research is necessary, not only to provide empirical support for theory, but also to inform practice. Avoiding evaluating our own work may lead to decreased funding for existing programmes as well as loss of control over the evaluation process itself (Erlich, 1977). Funding for new programmes in an era of budgetary constraint is often contingent upon built-in evaluation, as hard-pressed governments are reluctant to commit scarce resources to unproven programmes (Rothman, 1980).

Demonstration projects are an attractive innovative strategy for adult educators who are committed both to improving programmes and to studying their impact. However, as demonstration projects take place in an action setting in which service has a higher priority than research, problems can arise in applying evaluative research principles (Weiss, 1972).

This paper deals with some methodological issues in evaluating demonstration projects. The major part of the paper describes characteristics of demonstration projects and identifies some problems in the evaluation of these projects. The last part suggests some solutions, including combining several research perspectives rather than relying solely on evaluative research. Throughout the paper, examples will be drawn from a short-term foster-care demonstration project in order to illustrate the issues raised.

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Demonstration Projects : Combining Innovation with Evaluation

Demonstration projects are commonly used in education, health and social service settings as a strategy for fostering innovation while monitoring impact. They may be viewed as a compromise between rigorous but time-consuming evaluative research and the pressing need to find new solutions to social problems (Suchman, 1967). Despite an abundant literature describing different demonstration projects, very little has been written about methodological issues surrounding their use.

The primary goal of a demonstration project is to test a new programme on a small scale, with a view to verifying its likelihood for success if applied elsewhere on a larger scale (Suchman, 1967). Three types of demonstration projects include pilot programmes, model programmes and prototypes. Pilot programmes stress trying out new approaches on a flexible and revisable basis, using formative evaluation to provide ongoing feedback. Attention is focused on selecting realistic goals, developing programme and promoting innovation. In contrast, model programmes attempt to design and test a model programme under experimental conditions in which all variables are specified and controlled. Finally, prototype programmes evaluate the programme as implemented in a practice setting. Their aim is to evaluate, under normal operating conditions, both the overall effect and the contribution of specific components to the success or failure of the programme (Suchman, 1972).

The authors are evaluating a demonstration project which combines the flexibility and innovative focus of a pilot programme with certain evaluative research features of the prototype. The project was developed in response to the needs of low-income families under stress in a high-risk community. This type of community includes many one-parent families, often living on limited government support. Families in these communities often face problems of stress, ill-health and difficult parent-child relationships which tend to be resistant to traditional helping approaches (Bellamy & Shookner, 1980; Gottlieb, 1981; McIntyre &

Lawler, 1980). Studies suggest that while a high risk of social and health problems is related to low socio-economic status, provision of social support can help prevent deterioration of family relationships (Jenkins & Sauber, 1966; Garbarino & Sherman, 1980).

In one such community, local workers and families developed a short-term (2 to 15 day) foster-care service for families experiencing temporary stress or needing a respite from constant care of young children (aged 0-12). A research team helped the group clarify the goals and develop an evaluation plan. In 1984, the families, now incorporated as a Collective, obtained a 3-year demonstration project grant[1].

The innovative features of the project lie in its preventive focus on stress relief and in its emphasis on local child care provision designed to keep children in their own community. Another new aspect is the attempt to move beyond service provision to promote learning and strengthen support networks. Groups are offered to care-receivers in an attempt to reduce isolation, whereas care-givers attend monthly meetings designed to enhance skills in this substitute parent role while providing an opportunity for mutual support and information sharing. In addition, attempts are being made to involve community groups and organizations in exploring long-term solutions to the problems faced by local families.

While this is not the only innovative project in this community, it is the only one featuring systematic evaluation. The evaluative process is a flexible one, allowing for periodic modifications and mutual feedback between researchers and those involved in programme. Several aspects are evaluated : the relevance of the programme to local needs, the way in which it is being carried out as well as its effect on the target groups. The relevance of the programme is being studied through comparing data on the characteristics and needs of the families using the service with the initial needs assessment done before the project began. The content of various programmes and services is being monitored, using application forms from families giving and receiving the service as well as a group observation guide.

The effect on four target groups is being evaluated. Families receiving care are being interviewed regarding the extent to which the services (group and foster-care) responded to their needs, about any changes in their ways of coping with everyday family life, in their social networks or their children's behaviour. The extent the children remained involved in their normal community contacts and activities is being monitored. The effect of group meetings on care-giving families is being assessed through a questionnaire and group observation. Finally, the researchers are evaluating the extent to which community organizations are aware of the project and committed to supporting local families. Table 1 presents a summary of this demonstration project, including both action and research aspects. The next section discusses methodological dilemmas identified in the evaluation research literature and encountered in this project.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF SHORT-TERM COMMUNITY FOSTER CARE ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT

TARGET GROUP	NEEDS	RESPONSE	EVALUATION
Parents with young (0-12) children	- Support in crisis - Reduce isolation	- Short-term foster care (2-15 days) - Group sessions for sharing, support, information	- Verify extent service helpful in transitional crisis or temporary incapacity - Verify extent group met needs
Children aged 0-12	- Stay in community during family crisis	- Local foster care, stay in neighbourhood, school	- Verify their reactions to care, contacts kept up in community, and behavior changes
Foster-families	- Support and training in role	- Group meetings for support and learning	- Verify extent meetings provided support, information and promoted learning
Community	- Strengthen networks - Strengthen community capacity to respond to needs	- Increasing participation of local families in managing service - Opportunity to reflect on needs, service offered, new responses	- Verify impact of service on involved families' networks - Verify impact on community resources & their commitment to supporting families

Some Methodological Dilemmas

The literature identifies two interrelated dilemmas of evaluation research projects in action settings : the first involves the extent to which classical evaluative research principles are appropriate, while the second focuses on the specific impact of the innovation and action thrust on research. These two dilemmas will be discussed in turn, illustrated by examples from the temporary foster-care project.

To What Extent are Classical Evaluative Research Principles Appropriate?

Classical evaluative research is based on several principles. The evaluability of a programme must first be verified by ensuring that goals are specified, and that detailed information is available on activities, subgoals and probable cause-effect relationships so that hypothesis and outcome measures can be developed (Rutman, 1982). Once evaluability is established, the process of programme evaluation involves several steps. After the goals and subgoals have been defined in clear, measurable terms, outcome measures need to be selected to evaluate the effect of the programme in relation to those goals. Independent variables (such as methods used) need to be identified, along with intervening variables related to programme operation and to attainment of subgoals. Finally, an appropriate research design needs to be developed and implemented (Raymond, 1985). While the literature expresses a preference for experimental and quasi-experimental designs which permit maximum control, it is recognized that other types of designs can be useful in early stages of evaluative research (Raymond, 1985; Suchman, 1972; Weiss, 1972; Rossi, 1972).

Those principles ensure maximum credibility of the results, while facilitating generalization to other communities and populations. Evaluation quality and credibility along with methodological sophistication are factors influencing the extent evaluation results are utilized (Cousins & Leithwood, 1986). Researchers cannot afford to ignore these principles.

However, several authors question the extent to which classical evaluation principles are appropriate for demonstration projects. Elinson (1972) concludes from a review of ten widely disseminated, carefully designed evaluation studies that none produced striking results. He raises several questions : Are the goals overly ambitious or the outcome measures too insensitive? Is an experimental design appropriate? Suchman (1972) suggests that while an experimental design is needed to test model programmes, less rigorous designs (such as a comparison group) can be used in prototypes. Pilot programmes are best evaluated through more flexible, ongoing evaluation with built-in feedback.

In action settings, there are a number of obstacles to using an experimental design. Practitioners committed to meeting service needs do not understand why control groups are necessary, often viewing them as a heartless denial of service (Weiss, 1972; Aronson & Sherwood, 1967). As participants are self-selected or else chosen on the basis of need, random assignment to control and experimental groups is difficult (Raymond, 1985; Rossi, 1972; Weiss, 1972). Furthermore, pre and post-test measurement is only possible in those situations where the evaluators are involved from the outset and where there is minimum loss of study participants during the project.

In the short-term foster-care project, these obstacles led to a decision not to employ an experimental design. The project had been operating on a very small scale for a year before the research team was invited to become involved. As is often the case, the plan to build in systematic evaluation by a separate team was not entirely a free choice of the Collective, but rather a condition required by the granting body. This meant that the researchers were not involved initially in defining goals, subgoals and activities, nor were they in a position to do pre and post-test measurement on all aspects of the programme. Random assignment was impossible because the extent and characteristics of the population were not known until late in the project.

Perhaps most importantly, the researchers were preoccupied with minimizing the risk of mutual mistrust, by establishing a climate of respect and co-operation reflecting adult education values. As the Collective placed a strong priority on offering service to all those in need who requested it, assignment to comparable experimental and control groups would not have been acceptable. The researchers respected the Collective's service priority, and felt that the need for flexibility and innovation in this project justified the use of an evaluation design reflective of a pilot programme.

Inability to manipulate the independent variable or to employ an experimental design are not the only methodological problems facing evaluators of demonstration projects. These projects often have vague goals which are overly ambitious and difficult to measure (Raymond, 1985). The researchers in this project worked hard with the Collective to clarify the existing imprecise goals in realistic, measurable terms. In addition, subgoals were specified along with the links between subgoals in relation to the three-year time-frame of the project. While this was a laborious process, it gave a much clearer direction to the project without substantially altering the fundamental goals or programme.

Another major dilemma is the establishment of appropriate and valid outcome measures (Raymond, 1985). Because demonstration projects are new by definition, relevant outcome measures rarely exist. Direct, behavioural measures are often inappropriate. In this project, for example, reducing the number of children placed outside the community was an unstated, implicit long-term goal. However, it was felt that this goal was perhaps too ambitious, given the link between poverty and child placement (Garbarino & Sherman, 1980). In addition, measuring changes in child placement rates would not ensure that differences could be attributed to the project, given the lack of control over extraneous variables.

In consultation with the Collective, the researchers decided to concentrate on measuring the impact of specific programme components in relation to subgoals of the project (Beaudry, 1984). For example, two aspects being evaluated are the extent to which the service allowed parents respite from stress while permitting their children to stay involved in normal community activities. However, an attempt is being made to compare rates of child placement outside the community for those who participated in the project, both by consulting agency statistics and by interviewing workers who referred families to the service.

It was necessary but difficult for the researchers to develop outcome measures which were appropriate, reasonably accurate and yet acceptable to the Collective. For example, in developing an instrument for observing group meetings of care-giving families, it was difficult to distinguish between behaviours that involved offering support and those which were comprised of sharing information. At times, the need for accurate measurement conflicted with other priorities. An illustration is an observation instrument which the research team was supposed to develop to describe children receiving care and identify any behaviour changes observed. As the Collective felt this instrument could be too sensitive because of confidentiality, it was dropped from the research plan and other ways had to be found to evaluate this aspect.

Impact of the Innovative and Action Thrust

These methodological problems are compounded by the innovative, action focus of demonstration projects. Their intrinsic newness means that the level of control and precision required for hypothesis formulation may not be possible initially (Rutman, 1982). A less ambitious research goal in this project is to identify some possible relationships amongst variables which might lead to hypothesis formulation. For example, amongst the various groups targeted by this project, is it the care-receiving parents, the children, the care-givers or the community which seem to show most response and why?

The stability of the research plan and instruments is influenced by the very nature of demonstration projects, which tend to be in constant evolution. Projects such as this one which are long and complex are even more likely to experience change during the evaluation period (Weiss, 1972). Researchers must balance the need to keep the programme and research design steady for evaluation purposes against the importance of adjusting both aspects in response to emerging needs or early feedback (Weiss, 1972).

In this foster-care project, the major components of the programme remained stable, while some minor adjustments were made where early results suggested a change was desirable. For example, preliminary data suggested that it takes several experiences of foster-care with a community family before mutual trust is developed. As one subgoal is to reduce isolation amongst care-receiving families, the Collective attempted to place children with the same family wherever possible. However, unexpected turnover in care-giving families made this difficult.

This has led to several measurement problems. As membership in the care-giver group has undergone change, comparisons of pre and post-test results must be made cautiously. Turnover and training of the group leaders is another intervening variable to be taken into account. Turnover in care-giving families may also be a factor in any observed effects of the foster-care service on care-receivers.

Sampling and attrition difficulties were encountered as well, which will further limit interpretation of data on changes in care-receivers. As the initial estimate of care-receiving families was too low, the 42 families initially interviewed is not an adequate sample. Strategies to surmount this difficulty include ensuring sample families share important characteristics of the population, and interviewing additional families to increase sample size. An additional problem is the inability to contact 40% of the sample for a second interview, despite valiant attempts to find new addresses and phone numbers. As a third of those contacted used the service only once, the effects of repeated use of the service over time will be difficult to measure. As some improvements have been made in the interview schedule, direct comparison of the two test results will not be possible for all questions.

Another issue related to the action context is where to put the priority in the evaluation. Should the emphasis be on project performance or on cost-benefit efficiency, as granting bodies and agency administrators might prefer? Those involved directly in the programme often feel that the focus should be on the process and effort involved (Suchman, 1967; Weiss, 1972). While the literature discusses projects in which programme staff have some professional or paraprofessional training, the Collective is comprised of untrained natural helpers. As these people have invested strongly in the project both in terms of time and personal commitment, their focus on evaluating effort and process is quite understandable. A decision was made to emphasize both process and outcome, while paying less attention to cost-benefit efficiency and effort. Indirectly, however, observations about effort are being used in the evaluation. For example, the researchers have noticed that Collective members have acquired group leadership skills and new confidence in their own resources. They have begun to use more systematic ways of working, while progressing sharing tasks to a greater extent amongst themselves and with care-givers. While the research plan did not include evaluating the programme's effects on the Collective, their considerable effort has led to important learning which must be taken into account. This is particularly important if the project is to be applied elsewhere, as Rossi (1972) suggests some early positive results of demonstration projects are due to the dedication of those involved in setting up the programme.

In this project, the researchers were concerned with reducing the problems inherent in most demonstration programmes of conflict between research and programme teams. Differences in roles, status, values, goals, priorities and institutional affiliation can cause difficulties (Weiss, 1972). Several of these problems came up in this project, particularly in the early phases. There was some initial mutual mistrust related to stereotyping, different institutional affiliation and status difference between researchers and natural helpers. This diminished over time, as the teams got to know each other better and as the researchers made a careful effort to avoid jargon and demystify the research process. It was necessary to clarify the different roles and responsibilities, emphasizing the distinct but complementary competencies of each team. Considerable time was spent working out a mutually acceptable contractual agreement which spelled out the roles and rights of each of the parties concerned.

Differing frames of reference and priorities are a frequent source of friction between research and programme teams (Weiss, 1972). Certain of these differences are inherent in the respective roles. While those involved in the action must necessarily be committed to it, researchers must retain a questionning stance (Weiss, 1972). As a result, the latter must insist on a certain minimum control over variables, while those involved in programme are concerned with offering the best possible service. In the short-term foster-care project, the Collective was preoccupied by the quality of interpersonal relationships and by problems of day-to-day operation of the service, while the research team was especially concerned with the quality of the evaluation. For example, when the research plan was being developed, the Collective had concerns about the research associate interviewing care-receiving families, and proposed that those involved in programme conduct the interviews. The research team explained that a researcher-conducted interview would ensure families felt free to answer all questions honestly. The Collective worked with the researchers to devise safeguards for confidentiality and to check that the interview schedule was designed and administered in a sensitive manner.

Obtaining data, such as records of service, attendance, and programmes, can be a problem in demonstration projects. Those involved in programme can resist sharing records because of concerns about confidentiality or about being evaluated. Often, it seams like needless work to keep records and transmit them to researchers (Aronson & Sherman, 1967). In this project, while some data have been collected without difficulty, certain material has not yet been forthcoming, despite constant requests and efforts to explain the importance of these data.

Another problem concerns the eventual use of the evaluation. Programme teams can feel that it is their competence and not a programme being evaluated, and administrators can implement evaluations in order to reduce costs, justify cutting certain programmes or only to obtain outside finding (Raymond, 1985; Weiss, 1972; Aronson & Sherwood, 1967). As the programme team in the foster-care project is made up of natural helpers, this has been a delicate matter. These natural helpers sometimes lack confidence because they do not have formal training. In addition, they identify strongly with the project, both with its successes and its failures. The researchers had to be careful that their comments and suggestions were presented tactfully, so that it was understood that some setbacks are normal and that a programme is never perfect at the outset. An example was the low rate of attendance at group meetings for care-receivers. Researchers explained that this type of family often has trouble finding the time and energy to become involved in such programmes. At the same time, some suggestions were made in a diplomatic manner to help increase attendance.

A final issue related to the use of evaluation concerns the use of the research as a means to ensure the project's continuity. The researchers are aware of one pitfall of many demonstration projects : a considerable sum of money is invested in a project but for a specified time only. The project offers services to meet newly identified needs which may not be met unless more permanent finding is arranged. The researchers are more preoccupied than the Collective with ensuring that funding be obtained to continue aspects of the project beyond the demonstration period. The researchers have placed a high priority on progressive involvement of other community organizations and resources as the end of the project draws near. Newly emerged indigenous leaders are often reluctant to share power that has always eluded them in the past (Home, 1983). The Collective is no exception. While its members want the project to continue, they are ambivalent about the loss of power and control that increased community involvement implies.

Some Possible Solutions

While this list of problems is impressive, there are several ways to deal with them. The authors used two main strategies to minimize the difficulties in evaluating this demonstration project. The first was to combine evaluative research of the formative variety with two other research perspectives, and the second was to emphasize a co-operative approach to working with the Collective. These strategies clarified the rationale for methodological decisions made, while reducing problems related to the action and innovative components of the project.

Using several research perspectives

It has been pointed out that the very novelty of these projects often means that they fail to meet the criteria for evaluability (Rutman, 1982). One way of handling this dilemma is to use a formative evaluation approach which precedes classic evaluation research. Formative evaluation makes greater use of an inductive approach in an attempt to establish associations rather than test hypotheses (Rutman, 1982). It is hoped that some tentative associations may indicate which aspects of this demonstration project have been most successful in producing particular results, which could indicate directions for subsequent research.

Formative evaluation makes uses of different measurement techniques to clarify and understand process and outcome, while taking the realities of the action setting into account. Without neglecting the importance of validity and reliability, these principles must be weighed against the need for a flexible approach. Qualitative methods are used to support, complete or confirm quantitative data (Rutman, 1982). In this project a variety of qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques have been developed, including questionnaires, interviews, an observation guide, and group interviews. Both formative (periodic) and summative (final) evaluation are part of the project.

A second research perspective used in this project is action-research. This type of research is becoming increasingly popular, and includes a wide variety of methods and orientations. Most action-research projects do, however, share several characteristics. Action-research emphasizes a natural setting, a non-experimental design, involvement of researchers rather than an "objective" stance, and a recognition of the mutual influence of researchers and those involved in the action (Stinson, 1978). A focus on mutual learning, a non-linear research plan allowing for feedback and a balance between process and outcome preoccupations are other characteristics of this type of research (Goyette et Lessard, 1985).

While the application of some of these principles has already been discussed, other points deserve mention here. Mutual learning in a community education perspective has been an important focus of the project. The Collective members have become more systematic through using new administrative and organization skills. Some research skills have been acquired as well, as the Collective members are beginning to evaluate their meetings. The researchers have learned a great deal in this project from working with the collective. The Collective's detailed knowledge of community norms and values has helped the researchers to adapt the research process to local needs. The researchers have learned to put into practice their own beliefs in promoting citizen participation and autonomy, as they have had to share control of decision-making with the Collective. Mutual influence has been a constant feature, as Collective members discuss action problems with researchers, who in turn consult the Collective on research goals, plans and instruments.

A third research perspective used in this project is developmental research, a variant on social research and development based on the industrial "R & D" model (Rothman, 1980). Developmental research deals with the ways in which social technology is analyzed, conceptualized, created and evaluated, and is therefore especially useful in promoting innovation (Thomas, 1985). The process begins with studying both empirical research and practical experience regarding a problem, in order to develop a small-scale project (Thomas, 1985). Once this project is evaluated, adjustments are made before a larger-scale programme is applied elsewhere. Developmental research is characterized by a flexible approach, an open attitude to emerging needs or variables, and ongoing data collection (Rothman, 1980).

The short-term foster-care project is an innovative response to the problems of low-income families under stress. A literature search did not uncover any other project including this combination of services and activities. The programme was based initially on practitioners' experience and knowledge of community needs, supplemented by researchers' knowledge of theory and research methodology.

When the researchers first became involved, they consciously used these three perspectives in developing both the research plan and their approach to working with the Collective. The blending of the three perspectives helped the researchers find an appropriate balance between the control needed to conduct evaluation and the flexibility required in a demonstration project.

A Focus on Co-operation

The second major strategy used by the researchers is implicit in the three research perspectives used : the emphasis is on co-operation. A co-operative relationship was developed by respecting the Collective's autonomy and competence, by clearly defining respective roles, and by adapting to the Collective's time frame.

Respecting the autonomy of the Collective was important in this project, because the researchers became involved after the project had begun. It was essential to avoid fears that the university-based research team would take over the project. The research team encouraged the Collective's autonomy regarding the action aspects of the project, by working with them in clarifying their goals, subgoals and activities and by refining existing evaluation instruments wherever possible rather than creating new ones. Other research instruments, prepared by the research team, were adapted and revised in consultation with the Collective.

Mutual respect for distinct competencies developed as the two teams worked together. However, it was essential for the researchers to use clear language free of jargon, while developing other techniques which demystified the research process and allowed the Collective to contribute their ideas. For example, brief summaries of theoretical or research material were prepared so that the Collective could understand the main points to be discussed in meetings. The Collective's co-operation in improving the research was valued as were the research team's suggestions about some aspects of the action, but the distinct roles of each remained clear throughout the process.

This co-operative relationship was possible only because adequate time was available. It was essential to respect the slower pace of the Collective members, who needed time to discuss the implications of research decisions. In addition, the number of people involved and the need for mutual learning made the process a slow one. A further time factor was the need to fit in with the availability of the Collective, which meant researchers often had to attend meetings outside regular office hours.

The researchers used a number of solutions proposed by evaluation researchers to surmount methodological problems, while other ideas were not incorporated in this project. As a control group would not have been acceptable ethically, Rossi's (1972) suggestion of evaluating several different services simultaneously might have been a useful strategy for providing a comparison group without witholding service. If the programme is used elsewhere in a less exploratory phase, the inclusion of a comparison group would strengthen the evaluation design. The emphasis on early ongoing evaluation, on monitoring programme as well as measuring outcome are features of this project which helped reduce problems (Rossi, 1979). Ongoing involvement of the Collective in the evaluation, the researchers emphasis on underlying theory, clear role definitions and minimal disruption of programme activities are other solutions used in this project (Weiss, 1972).

Conclusions

Demonstration projects offer a unique opportunity for adult educators to participate in programme innovation while conducting research. While the innovative quality of these projects can pose dilemmas for a researcher, there are many benefits. University researchers are offered an opportunity to get involved in community programmes, to maintain and enhance their practice skills and to enrich their teaching. The researchers close connection to this community project has helped to dispel the "ivory tower" stereotype often held by the community and students alike. In addition, Collective members have talked about their experience to Masters' students, thereby helping the latter to gain a practical understanding of some theoretical concepts and research methods. Several of these students did additional learning through working as research assistants in the project.

Evaluating demonstration projects is a time-consuming, sometimes frustrating process which requires researchers to be adaptable and patient. However, if researchers invest sufficient time and energy in devising ways to surmount the inevitable difficulties, the benefits can far outweigh the drawbacks.

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A CLERISY FOR MUTUAL AND POPULAR ENLIGHTENMENT: THE ART, HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION OF VANCOUVER, 1909

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Introductory Note

Vancouver, at the turn of the century, was a boom city on the Pacific frontier of the British Empire. It had burst forth from an insignificant lumber camp, in the early 1880s, to become the province's metropolitan centre after 1900. By the first World War, its population well exceeded one hundred thousand.[1]

Like its Eastern and prairie counterparts, Vancouver's residents had to cope with vexing problems.[2] Carved from a coastal rainforest, the city bore the marks and scars of a boom psychology and economic depression, and of massive immigration, industrialization, and urbanizaton. To survive and to develop, to become a safe and attractive community, and to dominate in regional economic and cultural development, the city's residents needed to make, out of a disparate and fragmented set of imported cultural artifacts, an appropriate cultural, intellectual, scientific, technological, recreational, and moral backdrop to the everyday business of earning a living. For these residents, an important means of the day was education organized through voluntary associations—intentional mutual and popular enlightenment.[3]

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[1] See Robert A. J. McDonald, "Victoria, Vancouver, and the Development of British Columbia, 1886-1914," in *British Columbia: Historical Readings*, eds. W. Peter Ward and Robert A. J. McDonald (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981).

[2] See Patricia E. Roy, *Vancouver: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1980), pp. 74, 80. Roy's history, one of the National Museums of Canada's History of Canadian Cities series, is the most thorough and complete general urban biography of the city to date. For Vancouver from 1886 to 1912 see especially chapters one and two. See also Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* ([Toronto]: Macmillan of Canada. 1958); and Martin Robbins, *The Rush for the Spoils: The Company Province, 1871-1933* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1972). For other parts of Canada, see J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, eds. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1977), pp. 127-41; Walter Van Nus, "The Fate of City Beautiful Thought in Canada, 1893-1930," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, eds. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1977), pp. 162-65. The seminal work in Canadian urban history still remains Alan F. J. Artibise's *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth* (Montreal & London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975). See also, Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: Harvard University Press, 1975), a major prosopographical study of social structure in that nineteenth-century city; and Peter Goheen, *Victorian Toronto 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography Research Paper No. 127, 1970), a study of change in Toronto's social landscape, emphasizing the gradual sorting out and separation of social classes and economic functions during Toronto's period of industrialization. For a contemporary Canadian view, see James S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour: A Study of City Conditions, A Plea for Justice*, 1911, reprint, Social History of Canada, vol. 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); and James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates, Or Coming Canadians*, 1911, reprint, Social History of Canada, vol. 7 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

Key, perhaps, amongst these associations was the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C. (AHSA). Founded April 17, 1894, the AHSA was in many respects the city's premier cultural organization before the First World War. It transplanted, into Vancouver, the genteel ideas and forms of the British and European learned society, museum, and *salon*. As such, it aimed to initiate the city's residents—high and low alike—into the higher intellectual, aesthetic, scientific, and moral elememts of British culture and civilization. It further aimed to distract them from the city's rough appearance, and from its rude social character.

The Association's members, in particular, had come together to promote their own mutual education and, like missionaries, to proselytize the value of such learning amongst the general public of the city. Their mission, as "a devoted few" who "struggled under adverse conditions," was to "be an educational and refining factor in the life of Western Canada."[4]

This paper argues that AHSA members saw themselves as a "clerisy." They would be the city's "intellectual community—the sum of...scholars and artists, or, as Coleridge puts it, 'the learned of all denominations; the sages and professors [*i.e.*, teachers] of...all the so-called liberal arts and sciences.'" They would be, as Matthew Arnold terms, the "saving 'remnant'" who would rise "above the restrictions characteristic of their respective classes,...devoted to discovering, cultivating, and propagating the truth as apprehended by the truly disinterested mind."[5] They aimed to promote, in Vancouver, the higher elements of British civilization and culture—to meld the new people in a new land into a cohesive and enlightened force for building the British Empire.

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[3] Gordon R. Selman, "Some Aspects of the History of Adult Education in British Columbia Before 1914: A preliminary Survey" (Unpublished Monograph, University of British Columbia, 1971) pp. 116-190, briefly outlines many such organizations.

[4] R. Waller, Acting Secretary, to Colonel A. Leetham, United Services Institute, Whitehall, London, 27 December 1910, Letterbook, Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Add. Mss. 336, vol. 18, file 36, Vancouver City Archives (VCA).

The AHSA members' biographical characteristics—age, occupation, education, social and national origin—all indicate how the members assumed elite social status within Vancouver. Were they, in fact, a "clerisy"? These characteristics provide the evidence to answer this question. They also serve as evidence to infer members' values, priorities, and assumptions, and to explain their actions. Their status, their special mission, and their substantial involvement within local educational and reform circles thus explain the Association's impact and significance, and the meaning of its programme of mutual and popular enlightenment.

To these ends, a prosopography (collective biography) of the Association's 1909 membership has been constructed.[6] That year was selected because it was the closest to a census year (1911) for which there was an apparently complete list of paid members. The list comprised 44 paid members, including officers, and enough detail to allow some biographical data traces on 41 members. Complete tracing was impossible for all 41. For nine members, only name, occupation, and residence was available. Substantially more complete data, including age or birth date, education, place of birth, date of arrival, and political, religious, and organizational affialiations, was available for up to 33 individuals, with some overlap with the above nine members in some categories. The biographical information was gleaned and assembled from several sources including contemporary biographies, newspaper articles, and obituaries.[7] The relatively high success rate of the trace is indicative of the high status of Association members within the community. Note, however, of the several possible inference patterns, only two—social origin and national origin—are fully developed and explored. Age and gender, as developed, and for want of more inferential data, only hint at their significance. Further research is recommmended.

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[5] Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), pp. 263-64. For a complete history of the idea, see Ben Knights, *The Idea of the Clerisy in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1978). See also Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*, third edition (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1882), edited, with introduction and notes, by Ian Gregory (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

[6] Minutes, nd. (1909), p. 360, Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association, vol. 2, file 10, Add. Mss. 336, VCA.

[7] The most useful were the biographical pieces in local historical publications, in popular biographical dictionaries, and in newspaper articles about prominent local pioneers. See R. E. Gosnell, *A History of British Columbia* (Np.: Lewis Publishing, 1906); Henry James Morgan, ed., *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* 2d ed. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912); C. W. Parker, ed., *Who's Who in Western Canada* vol. 1 (1911) (Toronto: International Press, 1911); C. W. Parker, ed., *Who's Who and Why: A Biographical*

AHSA's Members and their Programme

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association's membership had an aura of distinction about it. They represented something of the "cream" of Vancouver society, though they were certainly not at the "top." Rather, this distinction gave them a special position within that society. This position can be seen through who they were and through what they did.

The 1909 membership may be portrayed as follows. They were 31 men (including the three not traced any further) and 13 women. Their ages ranged from 33 to 77 years (that is of the 26 whose exact age could be determined), and averaged 54 years. Ethnically, and in religious affiliation, they were hardly distinguishable from the rest of Vancouver's population in 1911. All were British subjects and all but one were of Protestant faith.[8] Most (19 of 33, 57.6 per cent) were born in the British Isles; only 14 (42.4 per cent) were born in Canada. No Americans were listed as members for 1909, a fact which acquires significance in light of the growing temper of Canadian Imperialistic nationalism.[9] Occupationally, however, the members differed most significantly from the general population. Of the 26 members who were employed (this excluding all but one woman and two retired men), 17 (65 per cent) were professionals. The remainder, including those not employed (*i.e.*, wives, widows, and an aunt) were mostly employed or related to an individual who owned or managed a substantial business concern. Finally, various sorts of

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[7] (cont'd) *Dictionary of Men and Women of Western Canada* vol. 2 (1912) (Toronto: International Press, 1911); E. O. S. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present, Biographical*, vols. 3, 4 (Vancouver: S. J. Clarke, 1914). The best source for relevent obituaries and other newspaper stories was the Vancouver City Archives, Newspaper Files, Major Matthew's Collection.

[8] One was a Roman Catholic.

[9] R. E. Gosnell, "A Greater Britain on the Pacific," in *Historical Essays on British Columbia* eds. J. Friesen and H. K. Ralston (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1980), pp. 14-22, 22. A major plank of the "Greater Britain," cause was granting the British Dominions, including Canada, parliamentary seats, and thus direct representation, at Westminster in London. See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), for a full treatment of the Greater Britain topic.

evidence suggests that the members were well connected to Vancouver's "upper classes" and that most, even when not actually of the upper class, could claim some local, provincial, or even national prominence or fame.

AHSA's members, like those of a myriad of similar and related societies throughout the Canadian west, apparently believed that Vancouver should be civilized through British social institutions and by British values. They feared unbridled materialism, disorder, and competition, especially "that American spirit, which keeps us all moving under high pressure."[10] They were horrified by the "concomitant of all the nationalities and conditions" flooding into Vancouver, most of whom were seeking their fortunes. In particular, they feared "that if no restraining hand was put forth, eventually a harvest of corruption, with foetid and unhealthy surroundings, would result."[11] Thus it was paramount for them, like other early settlers to the Canadian west, to establish very quickly the institutional and organizational vehicles to replicate and to pass on traditional British cultural ideals.[12]

The Association's first president, Reverend L. Norman Tucker, put the society's objects this way:

> to cultivate a taste for the beauties and refinements of life; to pursue studies that raise the mind above the materialising struggle for existence; to surround our community with the works of taste and beauty; to inspire our minds with the great deeds of our fellow-men and especially of our Yellow-countrymen; to explore the mysterious treasure house of nature and to admire and to utilise the marvellous forces concealed in her bosom—in one word, to appeal to our higher instincts and to develop our higher powers.[13]

To further these objects, then, the AHSA established an ambitious programmme. For its members, it arranged serious scholarly lectures and discussions, given by both members and visiting dignitaries, and musical and social conversaziones. In 1909, for example, eight lectures were given: "Early Bibliography of N.W. Coast," by E. O. S. Scholefield (Provincial Librarian); "Story of Royal Engineers," by Judge Howay; "Huxley's

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[10] H. J. deForest to Miss Allen, 4 October 1906, Art, Historical and Scientific Association Letterbook.

[11] S. Gertrude Mellon, "History Art and Science," typescript article from *Woman's Life and Work in the Province of B.C.* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1909), attached to the inside back cover of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association Minutes, vol. 2, file 8, Add. Mss. 336, VCA.

[12] Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 129-145.

[13] Art, Historical and Scientific Association Minutes, 1 November 1894 (newspaper clipping, n.d., n.p.).

Life Work," by Professor Porter; "Ancient Cities of Euphrates Valley," by Reverend A. E. Hetherington; "Moral Significance of the Fine Arts," by R. H. Weldon; "History of Water-color Painting," by R. Mackay Fripp; "Trip Through West Africa," by S. F. G. White; and "Wireless Telegraphy," by J. G. Lister.[14] For the city's "great masses," it established a public "cabinet of curiosities"—the Cook-Vancouver Museum and Art Gallery.

Age and Community Seniority

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association was a senior within Vancouver's organized community affairs. It was one of the city's oldest mutual enlightement societies, its immediate predessessor (the Art Association) founded in 1889,[15] itself founded in 1894. Similarly, its members, as a group, were also among the oldest (in age) active in civic affairs. The mean average age for Association members was high (54 years, in 1909); ten years more than the nearest of four other clubs and societies similarly researched.[16]

This high mean average for the AHSA, beyond reflecting its own longevity, becomes more significant when other details about the members are added. These details suggest that the Association was a club or *salon* for a relatively distinguished group of British Columbians. First, a large proportion of the members could truly be termed pioneers. Of those 31 members with identifiable dates of arrival on the west coast, 18 had arrived before the Association's founding in 1894. Thirteen of these had arrived by 1889. Second, some members, for example, Miss Sarah Bowes (75), Walter Moberly (77), and Captain William Soule (76), were virtually historical celebrities in the Association. As celebrities, they were not only the Association's senior members, but along with Mrs. Sarah McGillivray (c.49) and Mrs. Sara McLagan (54), were renowned as living notable figures from British Columbia's still very young history.

Sarah Bowes, for example, arrived in Vancouver in 1888. As the city's first "social worker," she had worked through the Methodist and other churches and organizations such as the W.C.T.U. and the Alexandra Orphanage.[17] Walter Moberly, "the last of the great pathfinders of the Canadian West,"[18] had surveyed the Province for the C.P.R., looking unsuccessfully for a pass through the Rocky Mountains. Captain Soule, had mined for gold in the Cariboo in 1862 and had lived and worked in Vancouver since 1869, when it was but a lumber-milling village named Granville.[19] Sarah McGillivray, daughter of a trader at Fort Douglas, B.C., was the first white child born at the Fort.[20] Finally, Sara McLagan, was Irish-born but raised in B.C. since 1855 with the founding of New Westminster, B.C. Her father, Sergeant John Maclure, C.E., was one of the builders of the Cariboo Road. She was famed as the province's first lady telegrapher and, later, its first woman newspaper publisher (of the *World* that she inherited from her husband).[21]

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[14] Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C., *Journal of The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C.* (Vancouver: Trythall & Son, 1917), p. 12.

[15] Noel Robinson, *Vancouver's First Cultural Association* (Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C., 1946), p. 6; Selman, "Adult Education in B.C.," pp. 134-36.

[16] The age means for four other Vancouver associations, in parentheses, were: Burrard Literary Club (37 in 1898), Arts and Crafts Association (41 in 1900), YMCA (39.5 in 1903), and Naturalists' Field Club (44 in 1906).

As historical notables, their presence lent considerable prestige to the Association. It also, in effect, gave them an honourable and sympathetic club "home," with company who might truly recognize their contributions to British Columbia's economic and social development. There presence also probably served to attract ambitious, younger, but equally notable, men and women to the advantages of Association membership. For example, the new President, prominent lawyer and historian, F. C. Wade (49); the next President, in 1910, and again an historian, Judge Frederick Howay (42), and the youngest member, dentist Dr. George Telford (33), were all relative newcomers to the Association. Each, of course, with the other members, contributed to the heady air of distinction that separated this society from the others.

AHSA Members as Social and Occupational Elites

The Association's members' occupational and "elite" status within Vancouver and the province further suggests their qualification as a "clerisy." Tables 1 and 2, following, show that Association members were consistently representative of the higher reaches of Vancouver society. Sixty-five per cent of the employed members were professionals. They ranged in occupation from teachers to physicians, lawyers to a Methodist Church deaconess

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[17] VCA, Add. Mss. 54, vol. 13, file B271, Miss Sarah Bowes.

[18] VCA, M6350, Walter Moberly (article clipping, Noel Robinson, "The Story of My Life," *Province*, May 13, 1934). See also Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia Biographical* vol. 3, pp. 969-974.

[19] Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia Biographical*, vol. 4, pp. 26-30.

[20] Ibid., pp. 914-916.

[21] Robinson, *First Cultural Association*, p. 14; Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women*, p. 779.

(the only employed female, similar to a social worker[22]), and included Vancouver General Hospital and Employers' Association administrators, among others. The other nine employed members came from the business community. All owned or managed their own business concerns. One of the latter was a Fraser Valley farmer.

These businessmen, however, were exceptionally interested in cultural or intellectual affairs. They were often well educated and strongly interested in historical or scientific topics, and some had had extraordinary life experiences (the Indian mutiny [Capt. Mellon], the Fenian raids [Prof. Edward Odlum], or the merchant marine [Capt. Soule]). Even the women, through their own or a relative's (*e.g.*, husband's) occupation, and retired men, through their former occupation, roughly fit this pattern. Women and retired men, however, were distributed differently from the other members. Except for the wives of two prominent lawyers, all were related to persons who had substantial business interests.

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[22] For a complete description of the role and responsibilities of this incipient profession see: John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, 3 (September, 1984): 371-95.

TABLE 1.
OCCUPATIONS OF ARTS, HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

Occupational Type	AHSA Member's Occupation n (%)	AHSA Relative's Occupation n (%)	AHSA Member Fame n	Vancouver Business Leaders n (%)	Toronto Elite (%)	Vancouver Census 1911 n
Professional	18 (66.7)	3 (21.4)	13	24 (8.9)	(36.8)	3971
Educator	3 (11.1)	——	3	——	(13.0)	508
Lawyer	2 (7.4)	2 (14.3)	2	——	(11.6)	254
Physician	2 (3.7)	——	1	——	(4.7)	168
Dentist	1 (3.7)	——	1	——	*	69
Artist	1 (3.7)	——	1	——	(5.4)	54
Architect	2 (7.4)	——	2	——	(2.5)	135
Civil Engineer	1 (3.7)	——	1	——	*	179
Clergy	1 (3.7)	——	—	——	(9.6)	90
Deaconess	1 (3.7)	——	—	——	*	50
Account't	1 (3.7)	——	—	——	*	295
Other Profes'l	2 (7.4)	1 (7.1)	1	——	*	41
Gov't Official	1 (3.7)	——	1	——	civ. eng.	477
Insurance	2 (7.4)	2 (14.3)	3	35 (13.0)	(22.4)	147
Banking	——	——	—	*	*	68
Real Est.	2 (7.4)	1 (7.1)	3	14 (5.2)	*	1331
Commerce	2 (7.4)	3 (21.4)	4	63 (23.4)	(5.0)	2040
Transportion	2 (7.4)	——	2	6 (2.2)	—	260
Builder	——	2 (14.3)	2	19 (7.1)	—	855
Manufact'r	——	2 (14.3)	1	53 (19.7)	(20.0)	87
Farm Owner	1 (3.7)	——	—	——	—	216
Misc.	——	——	—	5 (1.8)	(5.8)	41653
TOTAL	25 (100)	14 (100)	28	269 (100)	277 (100)	50628 (100)

NOTES:

1. Column one: occupations were determined from biographical data. See footnote 5. Occupational types, and Vancouver and district census data (1911), were derived from Canada, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, vol. 6: *Occupations of the People* (Ottawa: J. De L. Tache, 1915), pp. 286-296. This census division includes Vancouver city, and Vancouver's immediate and contiguous suburbs, North and South Vancouver and Point Grey.
2. Column two: for those members fully employed in their own business or profession.
3. Column three: for non-employed wives, widows, and a live-in aunt of employed relatives.
4. Column four: the established or recognized fame of Association members was determined by each member's having been publicly recognized through a published biography or newpaper or magazine story. See Table 2 for details. Note, the Association's three educators, listed in the table, were educational leaders, not teachers.
5. Column five: Vancouver business leaders (1910-13) were derived from Robert A. J. McDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver, 1886-1914," (Ph.D. Thesis, History, University of British Columbia, 1977), p. 174.
6. Column six: Toronto elite (1920s) were derived from Lorne Tepperman, "Status Inconsistency in the Toronto Elite of the 1920s," in *Social Stratification: Canada* eds. James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1979), pp. 125-140, 130.

* The proportion of Toronto elites within the occupational type marked with an asterisk ("*") was included within the occupational type immediately above in Tepperman's study. Therefore, read the percentage figure immediately above the asterisk as including those marked "*".

More significantly, especially as regards their "elite" status,[23] almost one-fourth (10 of 41) were or were closely related[24] to Vancouver's 276 "business leaders." These business leaders, identified by R. A. J. McDonald for the 1910-13 period, represented the top segment of Vancouver's business community. Four were also members of the city's "social upper class."[25]

Equally significant, 34 of the 41 (82.9 per cent) of the members achieved—or were close relatives of achievers of—city, provincial, or national recognition, or any combination, thereof. Such recognition or fame was established through having one's biography published in one of the *Who's Who*, histories, or newspaper articles mentioned above, or both. "Fame," as Lorne Tepperman has asserted for the early part of this century, came by "two pathways." "One [pathway was] through economic power attained in business, and the other [was] through a variety of activities that might be construed as public service."[26]

It is this latter pathway to fame, through "public service," which appears to be most critical in identifying the AHSA members as a "clerisy." Non-business vocational or avocational interests bring into full relief the implications of Tepperman's assertion. In particular, Tepperman had noted the significance of "moral worth and family respectability." "Moral excellence," he asserted, "is invoked to compensate for a shortage of cash...[S]uch balancing of virtues [with wealth within a closed community] is a valuable, even necessary means of controlling envy and conflict...."[27]

As his listing of occupations of the elite shows, the very occupations, and especially the spread across the professions, is remarkably similar to that of the AHSA's membership. Thus, in the case of the Association's "business leader" members, many had received their recognition for their educational and social accomplishments alongside, rather than because of their economic accomplishments. Two of those named by McDonald as leaders (not relatives), real estate agent and educator, Professor Edward Odlum, and barrister and historian, F. C. Wade, could claim fame on both economic and "moral" (*i.e.*, social) grounds.

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[23] The concept "elite" was purposefully selected. An "old word," originating with the notion of being "elected," first by man, later by God, and of being a member of the "elect," "elite" came to be used in the ninteenth century to mean the "'best'" and had its synonyms in Coleridge's "clerisy," J. S. Mill's "the wisest," and Arnold's "the best" and "the remnant." As Raymond Williams judges: "The significance...is the assumed distinction of such groupings from existing and powerful social formations." See Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, 2d ed. (London: Fontana, 1983).

[24] Close relations means three wives, one father, and one live-in aunt.

[25] McDonald, "Business Leaders."

[26] Tepperman, "Status Inconsistency," pp. 125-140, 137.

[27] Ibid., p. 137. Note here, "moral," in the nineteenth-century, was understood as we now mean "social." Compare the nineteenth-century phrase "moral economy." Did Tepperman use "moral" as a substitute for "social," or did he use it as we now use the word, or as some at the turn of the century were want, did he imply, ambiguously, both meanings?

TABLE 2.
SOCIAL PRESTIGE OF AHSA MEMBERS THROUGH PUBLISHED BIOGRAPHIES OR AS A "BUSINESS LEADER"

AHSA Relationship	Business Leader 1910-13 n	*Who's Who* 1911, 12 n	Scholefield & Gosnell 1914 n	Gosnell 1906 n	Morgan 1913 n	Newspaper all years n
Member	5	11	12	2	4	19
Relative	5	2	7	2	0	1
TOTAL	9	13	19	4	4	20

SOURCES: McDonald, "Business Leaders;" Parker, *Who's Who in Western Canada*, vol. 1 (1911); Parker, *Who's Who and Why*, vol. 2 (1912); Scholefield and Howay, *British Columbia Biographical*, vols. 3, 4; Gosnell, *History of British Columbia* Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women* ; and obituaries and other newspaper stories was from the Vancouver City Archives, Newspaper Files, Major Matthew's Collection.

Of the 41 members, five received no recognition, and of the 36 recognized, three are recognized only through relatives, not for themselves. Thus of the 41, only 33 received direct personal recognition through one or more sources. With the Newspapers category, only members who have had stories written about themselves are recorded, except for one case where the only story concerned the members husband, not her.

Association Members: An Educational Elite

AHSA members were highly educated. This pattern appears to be a key indicator of their self-perceived and probably actual status as a "clerisy." Of those members for whom data is available (see Table 3), the evidence suggests that Association members had received much more formal education than had Vancouver's business leaders, or even the social upper class. Most (50 per cent) had attended university, or had received a commensurate professional education, compared to 33 per cent of the city's business leaders. Such a large proportion also clearly exceeded the proportion of the general population with any post-secondary education. By comparing school levels attained by urban residents of Manitoba, it is estimated that only four to eight per cent of British Columbia's urban population had 13 years of schooling or more.[28]

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[28] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, vol. 12 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most excellent Majesty, 1942), p. 741. This estimate is

TABLE 3.
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF AHSA MEMBERS COMPARED TO VANCOUVER BUSINESS LEADERS AND THE SOCIAL UPPER CLASS

Educational Attainment	AHSA Members n (%)	Business Leaders 1910-13 n (%)	Social Upper Class n (%)
University/Law Accountancy	11 (50.0)	50 (33.1)	34 (48.6)
High School/ Art or Business College	8 (36.3)	42 (27.8)	19 (27.1)
Grade School/ Apprenticeship	3 (13.6)	59 (39.1)	17 (24.3)
TOTAL	22 (100)	151 (100)	70 (100)

NOTE: Column three, Social Upper Class, combines both McDonald's social upper class categories, that is, the upper class including both economic elite and non-elite businessmen. See "Business Leaders," pp. 211, 229. Of the 22 AHSA members for whom educational data as available, none was available for the 13 women and for nine other men. There were 44 members in total.

Such superior educational status, in comparison with the Association members' social "superiors," lends credence to their claiming an honourable position in the city's elite class, and to their serving as a clerisy. Further evidence supports this proposition. For example, several had or would publish books, pamphlets, or journal and newspaper articles. They were often recognized as local, or even national, experts in their chosen vocation or avocation. Finally, most Association members extended their expertise, influence, and community spirit by participating in and often providing leadership through may of the city's educational, reform, and charity boards and associations.

Along with this pattern of high educational attainment, the educational portrait shows a representative spread of education and training across most disciplines, professions, and trades. As regards both occupation and education, the AHSA appears as if

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[28](cont'd) drawn from Manitoba age group and school achievement figures of the same age cohorts as surviving AHSA members. Association members' mean age of 54, would have roughly corresponded to the Manitoba (1936) age group of 80-85. The youngest Association member, age 33, would have fallen into the 60-65 age group. The Manitoba figures for these two groups, respectively, were 5.54 per cent and 8.29 per cent.

it were a representative council, albeit self-selected, rather than a collection of peers of similar backgrounds. This is all the more remarkable since the available evidence suggests that there were no overt attempts to balance the membership.

Members' educational backgrounds naturally predisposed them to certain specialized interests within the Association. For some, their specialized interests also accorded them a status of local, and even national, experts. Many lectured at Association meetings, often several times. Some, notably Professor Edward Odlum (anthropology, sociology, science, theology),[29] Professor Charles Hill-Tout (anthropology),[30] Judge F. W. Howay (history),[31] Walter Moberly (history),[32] F. C. Wade (history and politics),[33] Frank Burnett (natural history and anthropology—Pacific islands),[34] and John "Wildwood" Winson (natural history),[35] had or would publish pamphlets, articles, and books. Such scholarly activity, amateur and professional, along with the work of collecting for, organizing, and maintaining the Museum, is suggestive of the dedication and interest of some of the city's more influential persons.

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[29] Odlum was famed in British Columbia particularly, as a "theologian, scientist and educationist of international [?] reputation," a British-Israelite and Imperialist. He published newspaper articles, pamphlets, and at least two books. His pamphlets included: "Who are the Japanese?," "Who are the Saxons?," "Great Britain Great," "The Cone-Shaped Holes of Bandal-Sun," and a critique of Campbell's "New Theology." His books were *God's Covenant Man*, and *The Old Book Stands* which had "been running serially in a London weekly, the National Message." (VCA, M6919, Professor Edward Odlum).

[30] Hill-Tout's writings included: "Later Prehistoric Man in British Columbia," "The Cosmogony of the Squamish," "The Oceanic Affinities of the Salish Tribes of British Columbia," all published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Society of Canada," and two monographs on "Totemism," also published by the Royal Society. (Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical*, vol. 4, p. 1197).

[31] Howay was a notable provincial historian, co-authoring with E. O. S. Scholefield a two-volume history of British Columbia, and his own *British Columbia: The Making of a Province*, 1929. (VCA, M4304, Judge Howay).

[32] Moberly was more famous for his exploits in exploring the province. He also had published in local newspapers his lectures to the AHSA in 1908, and in the Canadian Club proceedings. For instance, his AHSA publications, both in 1908, included: "The History of the Cariboo Wagon Road" and "The Early History of the Canadian Pacific Railroad." His published address before the Vancouver Canadian Club, in 1909 was: "The Discovery of the Northwest Passage by Land," *Proceedings of the Canadian Club of Vancouver, 1906-1908* (Vancouver: The News-Advertiser, [1908]) pp. 40-54. He was a prolific speech-giver in Vancouver before his death in 1915. (VCA, Add. Mss. 33, Walter Moberly; *Journal*, pp. 9, 11-12).

[33] Wade, a prominent Liberal, had published the following: "National Schools for Manitoba," "The Manitoba Schools Question," "The Klondyke—A Four Year's Retrospect," "The Alaska-Yukon Boundary Dispute, Its Practical Side," "Some Comments on the Alaska Award," "Canada at the Grave of General Wolfe," "The Early Navigators of the Pacific," "The Canadian Flag," and a "History of Liberalism in Canada." (Parker, *Who's Who*, 1911, p. 871).

[34] Burnett, a traveller of the "South Seas" and an amateur ethnographer of Polynesian culture, had collected artifacts (which he donated to the University of British Columbia, receiving an LL.D. in November, 1929) and wrote four books, three of which are: *Through Polynesia and Papua*, *Through Tropic Seas*, and Summer Isles of Eden. (VCA, M1322, Burnett, Dr. Frank, LL.D., F.R.G.S.)

AHSA members, through their subtantial expenditure of time and energy, were committed to their cause. Their dedication and purpose, however, was not limited to Association work only. The 1909 members belonged to and supported other mutual enlightenment and reform organizations, an obvious indication of their desire to provide leadership or to directly influence the aesthetic, intellectual, social, and moral affairs of the city and its political, commercial, and industrial leaders. The Association had members in the Arts and Crafts Association, the Naturalist Field Club, the Women's Musical Club, the men's and Women's Canadian Clubs, the YMCA and YWCA, the Daughters of the Empire, and the Local Council of Women, all with wholly or in part mutual enlightenment aims. Memberships were also held in numerous other reform or aid organizations (*e.g.*, Victorian Order of Nurses, Hospital Auxiliary) and social and business organizations and clubs (*e.g.*, Vancouver Club, Commercial Club, Masons). Three members had also been successful politically: Odlum as an Alderman and Library Board appointee; Howay and Dr. Boggs as school trustees in New Westminster (1894). In all, some 26 of 28 identifiable members had secondary organizational memberships; 11 of whom were members of social reform or aid societies.

With contacts spread so widely, there was ample opportunity to spread their influence throughout the community. So important was this desire and capacity for a community presence, it was usually recognized in member's biographies. There they were praised, for example, as "modest," "faithful," "unselfish," and "in the front rank...lead[ing] the way to a more humane civilization.[36] Such community activity and contact would have been particularly important since most of that community never directly joined the AHSA.

Pax Britannica: The British Connection

Art, Historical and Scientific Association members were also much more British than were the business leaders. Almost 58 per cent of the Association's members had been born in the British Isles (England, Scotland, Ireland) as opposed to only 42.4 per cent born in Canada (see Table 4). There were no Americans or other nationalities in the sample, though there had been individuals of "other" nationalities, including a few prominent European Jews, and Japanese diplomats and a minister of religion. Remarkably, only 34 per cent of the city's 1910-13 business leaders[37] were of British Isles origin. Fifty-four per cent were Canadian born; 5.9 per cent American. This difference is even more remarkable in that the national origin for business leaders had shown a substantial shift from British Isles born to Canadian born (47.5 per cent British Isles born and 33.9 per cent Canadian born in 1890-93), while the Association's membership probably remained relatively stable. Among even new Association members arriving in Vancouver after 1900, British Isles-born members outnumbered Canadian-born members six to four. The character of the Association, therefore, was markedly British, especially English, and strong enough as such to continue to attract its majority from British Isles immigrants.

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[35] Winson was a nature writer for the *Province*. He also published two books: *Weather and Wings*, 1932, and *Wildwood Trails*, 1946. (VCA, M10490).
[36] VCA, M551, Macaulay, Mrs. James.

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[37] McDonald, "Business Leaders," p. 183.

TABLE 4.
NATIONAL ORIGINS OF AHSA MEMBERS COMPARED TO VANCOUVER BUSINESS LEADERS

Birthplace	AHSA Members n (%)	Business Leaders 1910-13 n (%)	Vancouver Census 1911 n (%)
United Kingdom	*19 (57.6)*	*75 (34.3)*	*39,883 (31.9)*
England	12 (36.4)	36 (16.4)	23,495 (18.9)
Scotland	6 (18.2)	27 (12.3)	12,085 (9.8)
Ireland	1 (3.0)	6 (2.7)	3,182 (2.6)
Wales, etc.	— —	6 (2.8)	606 (0.5)
Canada	*14 (42.4)*	*119 (54.3)*	*53,335 (43.0)*
Ontario	10 (30.3)	75 (26.8)	19,641 (15.9)
Nova Scotia	2 (6.1)	14 (6.4)	2,968 (2.4)
New Brunswick	1 (3.0)	10 (4.6)	2,735 (2.2)
British Columbia	1 (3.0)	6 (2.2)	18,304 (14.0)
Other Canada	— —	15 (5.5)	7,276 (5.8)
U. S. A.	— —	*14 (5.9)*	*12,435 (10.0)*
Rest of World	— —	*12 (5.7)*	*21,675 (18.3)*
TOTAL	33 (100)	220 (100)	123,435 (100)

SOURCES: McDonald, "Business Leaders," pp. 183-5; Canada, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911*, vol. 2, p. 378. The population figures used here for Vancouver include Vancouver city, and its contiguous suburbs, North and South Vancouver and Point Grey.

This evidence suggests a probable curricular pre-occupation with British and Imperialist values and traditions. Not being capitalists or entrepreneurs, for the most part, these newcomers to Canada (or at least to the west coast) needed some means by which to establish and maintain those values and traditions, and to mark their presence in the community. By virtue of their professional training and advanced education, as well as their family background, they could best secure their own social position by contributing their own intellectual, aesthetic, organizational, and moral resources to cultivate and to civilize an already and extremely materialistic society.

Mrs. Gertrude Mellon, a driving force of the Association (along with her husband), could claim a distinctiveness (and perhaps superiority) of vision in Vancouver by virtue of her family and personal background. She was well connected by birth and family to

London, England, and to professional circles. These connections notably included her cousin, Dr. Hyde Clarke—engineer, government attaché to Constantinople, "celebrated linguist," and newspaperman—and Professor Bull, an associate of "Lord Kelvin on the first Atlantic Cable Expedition."[38]

Other members repeated Gertrude Mellon's family history and personal experiences as exemplary of their claim to a special leadership position in Vancouver society. R. Mackay Fripp, for instance, was the son of George Arthur Fripp, court painter to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.[39] William Burns' father, William Burns, M.A., LL.D., was principal of a grammar school in Rochester, England.[40] Finally, Captain Henry Augustus Mellon, as well as being a Vancouver pioneer, had spent a useful (to the Empire) and colourful life prior to his arrival in Vancouver in 1886. He had spent most of his earlier life at sea in the merchant marine and with the Royal Navy. In the latter capacity, he had fought and was wounded near Lucknow, in India, during the mutiny of Indian Sepoy troops.[41]

A second explanation for the British emphasis is less obvious but, perhaps, is more significant. It may be that the Art, Historical and Scientific Associaton and similar organizations served a function similar to that of the distinctly "ethnic" clubs and societies. Certainly, Canada was a British and Imperialist Dominion, and all its citizens were British. To boot, there were more British Isles-born adults than Canadian in Vancouver.[42] However, it was the Canadians who, as a group, were the economically superior, in a local and provincial economy increasingly tied to the North American market. As historian Carl Berger has observed:

> [I]n the Canada of 1900-14 men of learning were pushed aside in the bustling search for profit and gain. Business was predominant and set the tone for the entire community....[shutting out people like Stephen Leacock] because they did "not know how to make money."[43]

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[38] Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical*, vol. 3, pp. 763-64.

[39] Ibid., p. 291.

[40] Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical*, vol. 4, p. 992.

[41] Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical*, vol. 3, pp. 758-9.

[42] As Table 6, above, shows, 14 per cent of the total Vancouver population was B.C. born. It can probably be assumed that most of that figure were children, since most adult whites born in the province likely remained on the earlier settled Vancouver Island and there were few native Indians left in Vancouver.

[43] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 44, quoting Stephen Leacock, "The Apology of a

Canadian nationalism was beginning to assert itself, though along often conflicting lines. As Jean Barman has shown, British immigrants (and especially those in the more refined upper and middle classes) sought to establish traditional institutions such as private clubs and private preparatory and grammar schools.[44] Through such institutions, offering both education and socialization, these British immigrants hoped to pass on and to retain their most cherished values and traditions and to forestall complete assimilation into the "pragmatic" Canadian way of life.

Adult mutual enlightenment, of the kind provided in the Art, Historical and Scientific Association, is then a valuable means of assessing "British" ethnicity in Canada.

As for the 42.4 per cent of the AHSA members who were Canadian by birth,[45] many had strong and sympathetic British connections and ideals. British Imperialist sentiment in Canada had been strong for decades, expressed politically, morally, and culturally. In Vancouver, for example, there were such distinctly patriotic associations as the Daughters of the Empire (with four AHSA women as members), the Imperial Federation League, and the League of Empire (with Mrs. Mellon as a member). There were also the educationally-oriented organizations—local historical societies, such as the AHSA and later the Canadian Clubs. The Canadian Clubs, a popular, national businessmen's lunch and lecture movement, originated in 1893 in Hamilton, Ontario, and were founded in Vancouver in 1906 (men's) and 1909 (Women's). They cast the Canadian nation within a distinctly Imperial mould.

Significantly, some 32 of the 41 AHSA members researched, or 78 per cent, were concurrently members of the Canadian Clubs. The total overlap between the organizations probably would have been larger were it not for several Association members who did not work or live in the immediate downtown or surrounding area. Included among the Association's Canadian Clubs members were the founding Canadian Club President, F. C. Wade; the founding Honorary Life Member, Walter Moberly (along with Governor-General Earl Grey); the 1913-14 President, Colonel J. Duff Stuart; and Women's Canadian Club

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[43] (cont'd) Professor," *University Magazine* 9 (April 1910): 189.

[44] Jean Barman, *Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984). See also, A. Ross McCormack's, "Networks among British Immigrants and Accomodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914," *Histoire Sociale—Social History* 17, 34 (novembre-November 1984): 357-74.

[45] The category "Canadian" refers to anyone born in the British North American territories which since 1867 have gradually federated into Canada.

President for 1913-14, Mrs. J. J. Banfield. As Berger has noted: "The period [1882-1896] was truly the golden age of local history and the local history society....There is much to be said for regarding these historical societies as branches of the Imperial Federation League." Berger, like Mrs. Mellon, noted the value of such societies for promoting "a cohesive national heritage," and for inspiring national sentiment within a conception of Canadian-British nationality.[46]

Like their British-born associates, Canadian-born members possessed background characteristics suggestive of strong British sympathies. Professor Odlum, for instance, had descended fron a long line of loyal British army officers, stationed in Ireland since 1690 with King William of Orange, and emigrating to Canada in 1820, only to participate in quelling the 1837 rebellion. Professor Odlum, himself, had served the Empire, first against the Fenian raiders from 1866 to 1870 (for which he was recognized with a land grant in Ontario), and second by travelling throughout Britain for Canadian authorities advertising the advantages of immigration to Canada. He was best known, however, for his research into the "history" of the Anglo-Saxon race, and their "probable" descent from the ancient Israelite tribes scattered throughout ancient Assyria, Babylonia, and Armenia (contributing naturally to their inherited and natural "superiority").[47] Mrs. J. J. Banfield, on the other hand, was of United Empire Loyalist stock, born in St. Catherines, Ontario, and pioneering in Vancouver since 1891.[48] Also from St. Catherines was A. E. Goodman, son of a prominant medical and Conservative family (his father was mayor of St. Catherines).[49] Finally, F. C. Wade, barrister son of an Ontario Bank manager, had served Manitoba, Yukon, and British governments in various legal and social capacities, including acting as British Counsel before the Alaska Boundary Tribunal in 1903.[50]

Mutual Enlightenment: For Some or For All?

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association, founded in 1894, was organized to enlighten the adult population of Vancouver, though differentially according to social class.

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[46] Ibid., pp. 96-97, 99.

[47] Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical* vol. 4, pp. 336, 341-2. See Chapter 3 for a more extensive discussion of Odlum's and other Association members' belief in the racialist, and probably racist, and generally discredited, British-Israelite theory.

[48] VCA, M564 Banfield, Mr. & Mrs. J. J.; VCA, Add. Mss. 54, vol. 13, file 1335, Harriet Banfield.

[49] Scholefield and Howay, *B.C. Biographical*, vol. 4, p. 346.

[50] Ibid., pp. 1149-50.

They sought to stimulate intellectual inquiry and aesthetic appreciation, to foster an atmosphere conducive to local scholarship, and to provide some appealing forms of recreation. This effort was all in the hope of instiling a higher level of intellectual, aesthetic, and moral awareness among Vancouver's population, the masses and philistines alike. In particular, they aimed to overcome something of the meaner and uglier aspects of industrial capitalism, rapid urbanization, and immigration. Such effort, it was hoped, would also assure a firm British cultural base in the metropolitan centre of the province, and provide a wholesome, inspired, harmonious, and relatively democratic leaven in the civilizing process.

These "dedicated few," socially and culturally select, made it their duty to turn the AHSA and Canadian Clubs into civic forums for mutual enlightenment. They had hoped that by providing for the free and rational expression of ideas, the city and its industry might be humanized, and the city made more beautiful. Furthermore, they hoped that democracy itself would be safeguarded. Organizations like the Canadian Clubs and the AHSA provided "a security against those evils [self-interest creeping into 'places of high public trust'] which fasten upon every self-governing city."[51]

The question, however, who could be trusted with the free expression of ideas, no matter how esoteric, was never properly resolved. As Reverend Tucker commented early in the Association's life the public lectures were truly public, with any and all invited; even the city's toilers could there experience the light of art, literature, and science. However, as the Association developed, it organized itself around a bi-focal pedagogy and curriculum. The Cook-Vancouver Museum and Art Gallery was organized and made public—for the "mass" public. The members' lecture programme, on the other hand, by its restricted locations and rather esoteric topics, remained well within the preserve of local savants and members of the "better" classes.

Democracy and liberty, it would seem, were good and certainly worthy of maintenance, but at the same time were advanced by sophisticates able to protect them. Mutuality of enlightenment, as actually practised, was seen as fine and admirable when safely conducted *within* socially and economically cohesive groups and classes. The mutual sharing of ideas might be dangerous, however, when extended across social, economic, and ethnic barriers. There is no direct evidence available, however, to support this last claim. Indirectly, there is the fact that many of those people from non-Anglo Saxon backgrounds, for example, the early Japanese and Jewish members, had left the Association by 1905. Also, Association member, Reverend Dr. Hugh Fraser, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, had been an instigator of the 1907 anti-Asian riot in Vancouver.

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[51] Earl Grey, Inaugural Address, *Proceedings of the Canadian Club of Vancouver, 1906-1908*, p. 8.

Sadly for the AHSA, the rise and relative success of new, more specialized mutual enlightenment organizations condemned the Association to rather diminished existence. This destructive competition was mirrored in the rise and educational success of the Canadian Clubs, established by and for the city's elite businessmen and their wives. It is true that the Association succeeded in many ways. It organized the city's first public museum and art gallery, and probably one of the city's most successful programmes of lectures, discussions, and musical converasaziones. Nonetheless, it ultimately failed substantially to reach out beyond that relatively tiny group of "devoted" local scholars. While their membership never really changed until (modestly) the latter half of the 1900-10 period, with new leadership by Judge Howay and F. C. Wade, the city changed very substantially. Most crucially, perhaps, the constituency to which they most needed to appeal to, the businessmen and their wives and families, had become markedly Canadian. The Association, was perhaps just too English and Romantic in its fashion to excite materialistic entrepreneurs. Even Stephen Leacock, that gentleman creator of "Mariposa," was by the 1900s and 1910s very much out of step with the changing times and values.

In the end, the AHSA suffered from changing conceptions of culture, education, and organization. First, and most significantly, this cultural elitist body of men and women had begun, by 1900, to acquire public or municipal assistance in the form of grants and lodgings. The Association thus began a process that moved them from a private to a public sphere of organization. This culminated in a quasi-public museum (1905) and a quasi-public lecture series through the University of British Columbia (1915). The Association changed in other ways too. Even as they held to their perception as a "devoted few," the Directors became increasingly concerned with running a business-like organization. At the same time, they began to retire or to detach themselves from the Association's programmes as well as from many of their former Executive responsibilities. The Museum's curator and the Association's secretary became salaried personnel.

Clearly they were adopting the significant twentieth-century concepts of efficiency, democracy, specialization, and division of labour. The age of the "Renaissance Man" was coming to an end, except, of course, for dilettantes. Newer, more specialized, bureaucratic, and professionalized organizations now came into being and would flourish.

RACE RELATIONS TRAINING FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND EMPLOYEES: AN ADULT EDUCATION MODEL

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In 1985, the Toronto Board of Education decided to introduce a Race Relations training program as a major component of its efforts to enhance the effectiveness of its Equal Opportunity and Race Relations policies. The program was two-fold. On one hand, all senior managers were to receive training designed to increase their effectiveness in managing a multi-racial workforce. Participants were to include all principals, heads of non-teaching departments, and supervisory officers. On the other hand, racial minority employees (teaching and non-teaching) interested in and qualified for seeking promotions were to be provided with training that made them better prepared to compete for promotional opportunities. The training of senior managers was carried out during October 1986-February 1987. Training for employees was started in May 1985. So far, four groups of racial minorities have participated.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the background of the program and the assumptions underlying it; to examine the various features of the model; and, finally, to provide a critique of the program.

I. BACKGROUND

The Toronto Board of Education adopted an Equal Opportunity policy in 1978. It adopted a Race Relations policy in 1979. One of the key intents of the two policies was to encourage increased employment and promotion of racial minorities at the Board. The two policies were pioneering initiatives in that they attempted to deal with possible systemic and institutional biases against the entry and mobility of racial minorities in the Board's workforce before the notion of systemic impediments became popular among employment equity seekers in Canada. A workforce survey conducted by the Board in 1982 revealed that only about 7% of the employees, teaching and non-teaching, were from various racial minority backgrounds, and that they were mostly clustered in the lower level positions. Data collected subsequently indicated that there had not been a significant improvement in the hiring and promotion of racial minorities since 1982. Although the participation rate of racial minorities in the Toronto school system's workforce was higher than in most other public sector organizations of Metropolitan Toronto, it did not reflect their presence in the city's population. As well, racial minority employees voiced strong reservations about the chances of their success in gaining promotions as compared to the chances of their white counterparts.

Two reviews of the implementation of the Race Relations policy, carried out by external consultants during 1983-1985, indicated a considerable gap between policy and practice. It became clear to the senior staff and the Board trustees that efforts to improve upon the gains already made had to be intensified.

The period 1978-1985 had also seen major developments in the society as a whole. As a result of the work done by several committees and commissions set up by the various levels of government, the advocacy and research carried out by community organizations and the demographic information that had become available, there was an increased sensitivity to the need for removing the systemic and institutional barriers that prevented the realization of employment equity for all.

The Race Relations training program introduced by the Toronto Board of Education for its senior administrators and racial minority employees represented the Board's view that people - whether managers or staff - needed a variety of information, knowledge and practical skills if the gap between policy and results was to be bridged.

II. ASSUMPTIONS

A number of assumptions informed the introduction of the program. These were:

1. The Toronto Board of Education cares about its

staff.

2. The culture of the Toronto Board of Education is organic and open, and believes in accountability. Thus when the racial minority staff and community indicated that there was a discrepancy between belief and practice, senior managers responded with an extensive training program.

3. Change comes through education.

4. It is possible to change behaviour and attitudes through education and experiential learning.

The following assumptions were taken into account in designing the program:

1. Adult learning programs are most useful and effective when developed in consultation with the learners.

2. Adults are motivated to learn as they develop needs and interests that learning will satisfy. They learn most rapidly those things which meet their perceived needs.

3. Adults need to utilize their experiences and must be actively involved in the learning experience. Therefore, they learn best by doing.

4. Adults have a deep need to be self-directing and to have some control over the direction of learning. In this way the learning is maximized.

5. Adult learning requires that goals must be clear.

6. Error is part of the adult learning process.

III. FEATURES

III.A. Participation

One part of the program was directed towards all senior managers, teaching as well as non-teaching. They were required to attend, the only option being the choice of dates. All eligible participants were provided with a series of dates spread over a year and a half so that they could select the ones most convenient.

The other part of the program was for racial minority employees. This included two separate activities, one entitled "Training Program for Visible Minority Teachers" and the other called "On Being a Woman and a Non-White: Double Handicap?" As the titles suggest, the first was open to teaching staff while the second was intended for racial minority women employees. Attendance in these was voluntary. Participants either decided on their own to attend or they were identified and encouraged by their supervisors.

III.B. The Delivery Process

The training for senior managers was designed and delivered with the active involvement of a Reference Group chaired by the Associate Director of Education-Personnel.[1] The group included one representative of each of the management constituencies in addition to the Board's Career Development Officer, the Race Relations Advisor and two Superintendents of Personnel.[2]

The two training programs were offered in approximately the same time period, with data from one group being shared with the other.

Participants' experiences were a key feature of the design. In the case of the managers, these were generated and processed through a structured experiential exercise and actual case studies. The personal experiences of the employees were brought out through a combination of one on one interviews and group discussions.

The training for senior managers was facilitated by the Race Relations Advisor, an outside consultant and a member of the Reference Group. The training for employees was facilitated by the Race Relations Advisor, the Affirmative Action Advisor (in the case of the program for women employees) and an outside consultant.

Resource persons for the managers' program included senior Board staff, the President of Metro Toronto's Urban Alliance on Race Relations and a senior staff of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Senior staff of the Board, white and non-white, served as resource persons for the employee programs. They served as role models and provided information on preparing for promotion.

III.C. Design

III.C.1. Length of Program

Training for employees included 6-8 evening sessions of three hours' duration. The groups met once a week. In addition, there was a final full-day session held on a Saturday. Training for senior managers, on the other hand, was conducted over a day and a half.

III.C.2. Number of Programs

Eight day and a half long sessions were organized for managers. These were preceded by two pilot sessions. The eight subsequent sessions were spread over a year and a half allowing the participants to select the dates most convenient to them. However, participants were expected to attend one entire day and a half long session.

A total of four programs were conducted for racial minority employees. These included two for teachers and two for women.

III.C.3. Number of Participants

Participation in the managers' training sessions varied considerably. The smallest session was attended by eight people while the largest group consisted of twenty four participants. The average size of a group, including the two pilot groups, was eighteen. Thus, a total of one hundred eighty managers attended the program.

Each of the four employee programs was attended by twelve to fifteen participants. In all, fifty five people attended the four programs. They included teachers, department heads in secondary schools, administrative assistants, secretaries and Social Work staff.

III.C.4. Setting

The ten sessions for managers were held outside the Board premises. One was organized as a retreat. Sites were chosen in different geographic locations to enable participants to select a setting most convenient to them.

The sessions for employees were held partly outside the Board premises and partly at the Board. One of the groups went to a retreat for its final full day.

III.D. Stated Outcomes

The stated outcomes of the Race Relations training for managers included the behavioural skills, knowledge and understanding necessary to manage a multiracial and multicultural environment. The stated outcomes of the program for racial minority employees were enhanced behavioural skills as well as knowledge and understanding required to successfully move within the system. However, in both cases, there were several serendipitous outcomes which had not been foreseen. These will be described in the discussion of the program.

IV. DISCUSSION

IV.A. Reference Group

A formally constituted Reference Group to design and assist in the delivery of the program was used for training the managers. The group was spearheaded by the Superintendent of the Board's Personnel Division and its composition was decided by her in consultation with the Assistant Superintendent of Personnel (Staff Development), the Assistant Superintendent of Personnel (Teaching), the Career Development Officer and the Race Relations Advisor. The Reference Group consisted of these five individuals plus five others representing the elementary and secondary school principals, the non-teaching department heads, and the supervisory officers. Three members of the group were racial minorities.

The Reference Group, as initially conceived, had a consultative function. Its members had three tasks:

a. To refine the objectives for a Race Relations training program for managers;

b. To develop a viable design for a pilot, including length of program, its components and the method of delivering information; and,

c. To liaise with their constituencies and report back to the Reference Group.

After the delivery of two pilot workshops and the consideration of feedback from the participants, this ad hoc committee assumed two additional responsibilities:

d. To develop the design of a program for all senior mmanagers; and,

e. To actively assist in the delivery of the program.

IV.B. Design Features

IV.B.1. Managers' Training

The design of the program for managers was laid on by the Reference Group. In order to meet the stated outcomes, the following considerations were taken into account in the design:

a. It had to present concrete data regarding the Ontario Human Rights Code, the Canadian Charter of

Rights and Freedoms and the external and internal trends with respect to Race Relations issues.

b. It had to provide an opportunity for managers to examine their own beliefs and preferences in a safe and trusting environment.

c. It had to provide an opportunity to do some problem solving around issues which concerned racial minority staff and students.

d. It had to provide the impetus for participants to develop strategies and an action plan for their workplace.

In order to fulfill these considerations, the program consisted of several modules intended to allow participants to move from information about external and internal environment to examination of personal preferences to problem solving. Resource persons were used only in the first segment. For the segment on problem solving, actual cases were solicited from participants themselves. These were re-written by members of the Reference Group in order to ensure anonymity of individuals involved. In addition, real cases from the Human Rights Commission were used to develop an understanding of the Human Rights legislation.

IV.B.2. Employee Training

The absence of a Reference Group to assist in designing this program meant that the facilitators' intentions and the participants' perceived needs were divergent. The original intent was to provide a coaching/training workshop to provide the skills, knowledge and understanding that would allow for increased mobility and success in promotion. Participants indicated to the facilitators by direct confrontation and indirect actions that these were not their needs.

The emergent design of this program allowed for group members to "take charge." Each of the participating groups formed their own reference group who then assisted the facilitators in setting a relevant agenda. Thus, for example, those attending the first session of "On Being a Woman and a Non-White: Double Handicap?" completely rejected the program developed for participants in the workshop for racial minority teachers that had just preceded. Instead, they worked with facilitators to design a program that they felt to be more suited to their needs.

It is, however, possible to draw some generalizations from all the sessions:

a. None of the groups was interested in training but rather in penetrating the system with their opinions.

b. Most participants felt that they had the necessary skills and qualifications for promotion. They viewed systemic barriers as being the issue. Whereas the managers felt that they were dealing with inadequate skills and attitudinal problems, employees believed that the issue was one of "we versus they," that is, of power.

c. Most participants had difficulty with the notion that the onus was on them to adapt to the organizational culture. They felt that the organization, too, had a responsibility to respect their culture and history. Consequently, they were more interested in advocacy skills in order to be able to effectively articulate their opinions and experiences than in developing practical skills in writing a resume or appearing for an interview. Negotiations between facilitators and participants resulted in sessions that combined the development of advocacy skills with the development of job-related skills. The extent to which participants wanted to pay attention to one or the other set of skills varied from one group to another and from one racial group to another. Generally speaking, women employees tended to be more interested in advocacy skills than men.

IV.C. Serendepitous Outcomes

Both the programs, for managers and for employees, had outcomes which were not intended. It is fair to say that they were positive outcomes and testify to the potential dynamism of the design. In light of the foregoing discussion, it is not surprising that, for managers, these were of a practical nature whereas, for employees, they related to system changes and group needs.

IV.C.1. Managers

It became clear quite early in the sessions for managers that they were not as interested in knowledge and understanding as they were in learning the pragmatic skills to do their job better. Racial minority issues and concerns constituted for them a problem that they were reacting to. Their major concern was to find ways of handling the problem. Thus, although they were willing to hear about the expectations of the community at large and to examine the implications of their own cultural preferences for decision-making in an Equal Opportunity setting, they wanted an opportunity to develop some very specific skills. These were:

a. Giving feedback to staff on sensitive issues, such as, to male white staff on reverse discrimination and to racial minority staff on non-appropriate behaviour;

b. Handling complaints of staff, parents and students; and,

c. Coaching, counselling and mentoring racial minority staff.

It became apparent that the need for developing skills in these areas was widely shared among managers. Groups not only spent considerable time discussing these, they also used the case studies to develop their strategies and approaches in these areas.

IV.C.2. Employees

The employee groups were less interested in promotion as a career issue for individuals than as a justice issue for groups. For them, lack of career mobility was a symptom of a larger malaise: the built-in and historic nature of the racial biases that permeate the dominant institutions.

Unlike the managers, they spent a considerable time grappling with issues of racism, human rights and inter-group relations. They approached these issues not only as employees looking for mobility but also as parents and educators concerned about creating a non-racist education system.

A surprising outcome of these sessions was the decision by two of the groups to write briefs to the system raising issues of concern and making recommendations for change. The writing of the briefs provided the participants a concrete opportunity to use their personal experiences to develop effective advocacy skills as well as to have an impact on the system. The two briefs have resulted in some significant changes in the Board's personnel practices.

The racial composition of the groups had another unintended outcome: skills in inter-group relations and conflict resolution/management. The groups included Canadian born racial minorities as well as immigrants from the Caribbean, South Asia and South-East Asia. Many of these groups have difficulty communicating with each other. The sharing of experiences and the sharing of a common task - writing the briefs - brought participants from these groups closer to one another.

IV.D. Group Consciousness and Behaviour

IV.D.1. Managers

Group consciousness and group behaviour among managers depended upon the composition of each group. As a rule, however, there tended to be greater group cohesiveness among the secondary school principals than among the members of any other manager group. There was, as well, little interaction between managers from the teaching and the non-teaching sides of the Board. However, there was among managers greater sensitivity to gender equality than there was among employees.

The presence of women or racial minority managers tended to cause groups to grapple with equity issues more intensely than when they consisted almost exclusively of white male managers. Nonetheless, an overarching consideration appeared to be the issue of reverse discrimination and the attendant white male backlash.

IV.D.2. Employees

There were differences among members of different racial groups around questions of strategy and acceptance of the organizational culture. As well, sexist attitudes of some of the South Asian men affected group behaviour. The greater influencing abilities of some members also caused some others to feel "isolated." However, shared feelings about the dominant culture brought the groups together. Thus, group cohesion came from the shared experience of discrimination, not only as employees of the Toronto Board of Education, but as racial minorities.

This shared experience was revealed in the discussions around the issues of trust and fairness. Members saw Equal Opportunity and Race Relations policies as being connected to survival and justice.

Group cohesiveness also came from the members' perception of themselves as role models for racial minority students and as resource people to their communities.

Finally, there was no significant split between teaching and non-teaching employees, as there was among the managers.

V. CRITIQUE

The managers focused primarily on sensitization and self-awareness, information and problem solving. Most of them viewed the matter of employment equity for racial minorities as "just another problem" in their work day, and hence their anxiety to find the practical skills to deal with it. This response was consistent with the observation that a feature of the management style in Toronto Board of Education is "management by crisis."[3] A majority of the managers had a hard time treating the question of equity in the workplace for racial minorities as a matter of justice or fairness rather than as a problem that could become a crisis. This was particularly true of male managers, regardless of their backgrounds. A feature of the "collegial atmosphere" they brought with them seemed to be an identification with the dominant organizational culture. However, women managers were more "politicized" than their male colleagues. They tended to be vocal about the validity of the underlying concerns.

Another limitation may be traced to the obligatory nature of the program. While this conveyed to the managers the importance that the Board attached to the program, it may be argued that this created commitment issues. A mandatory program can be effective only if, on one hand, it forces participants to deal with hard issues in a forthright manner and, on the other hand, it is backed up by clear expectations. We must question whether the Reference Group was in a position to anticipate these considerations when it decided to make the program mandatory. "I've been to the Race Relations workshop and now I'm clean" may, we fear, be the response of some participants.

Those who attended the voluntary programs for racial minority employees demonstrated a greater commitment than the managers. For them promotion and mobility were part of a much broader set of problems, namely, racism in the wider society.

A major issue for these participants was that of trust. They lacked trust in the system and the management. They thus needed a program that focused not on training but on assisting them to deal with the "political" issues involved in their negative experience in seeking mobility and promotion.

To the extent that the program, as initially designed, did not deal with these "political" issues, its design was flawed. The use of a reference group for carrying out a needs assessment and for planning might have remedied the flaw. At the same time, however, the open-ended, emergent nature of the design was its strength. This allowed the design to be adjusted rapidly.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Race Relations training carried out at the Toronto Board of Education for senior managers and racial minority employees was an innovative program in that it attempted to develop skills, knowledge and understanding simultaneously at both levels. Principles of adult education were used to design a program that drew on the concrete experiences of the participants. The ownership of the program was with the participants whose input enabled the facilitators to adjust the design so that the expressed needs of the learners could be met.

NOTES

[1] At the time when the Reference Group was set up, the designation of the Associate Director of Education-Personnel was Superintendent of Personnel. It was in that capacity that the head of the Personnel Division initiated the group.

[2] In 1985, the two Superintendents of Personnel were designated Assistant Superintendents of Personnel. All the titles of the senior staff of the Personnel Division changed as a result of a major administrative review carried out in 1985-1986.

[3] Hitner-Starr Associates, *Race Relations Program Review* (December 1985).

ADULT EDUCATORS AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS

SPECIALIZATION OR BALKANIZATION

by Gordon Selman

In the last fifty years, and especially the last thirty, the field of adult education in Canada has seen the emergence, and subsequently the proliferation, of organizations of adult educators. The purposes of these organizations have varied, but tend to have certain elements in common, such as the promotion of communication among, and the in-service professional development of the members. With the increasing numbers of specialized groups in recent years, there is prospect of the balkanization of adult education and the creation of barriers to communication within the field. This paper examines this phenomenon historically, suggest a typology of organizations, reviews the functions of a representative selection of organizations (national and provincial), and comments on the strengths and problems in the present arrangements. On the basis of this review the author suggests avenues which could be explored in order to both preserve the strengths of specialization and also provide means for acting in concert.

In the last fifty years, and especially the last thirty, we have witnessed the emergence in Canada of quite a large number of organizations of adult educators, at both the provincial and national levels. These organizations were established in order to serve a variety of goals, the most common being to provide a means of communication among people working in the field, to render services to the members of assistance to them in their work, and in the case of at least some of the organizations, to create a vehicle for joint advocacy. While a major goal of the organizations has been to promote communication among those working in adult education, the proliferation in the number of groups in recent years, as useful as this has been in some respects, has perhaps now begun to work against this happening. Specialization is verging on balkanization, and perhaps it is time to examine this phenomenon.

This paper will trace the history of these developments in Canada, noting the emergence of a number of the groups of adult educators. A typology of the organizations will be presented and some significant differences among them will be identified. The functions of the several types of organizations will be examined, with some reference to philosophical currents in the field of practice. Some strengths and problems arising from the present organizational pattern will be examined and some suggestions made concerning ways our organizational arrangements can be made to serve the interests of the field more satisfactorily.

1. Historical Perspective

The development of national and regional adult education associations in Canada does not lend itself to tidy summary, but some general observations can perhaps be made. Aside from a few short-lived exceptions at the regional level, the first three decades of development, from 1935 to the early sixties, tended to be ones for the formation of national organizations. The sixties were a period during which provincially-based organizations of a general or "umbrella" coverage of the field came into being. The most recent two decades have brought the development of a variety of more specialized organizations at the provincial level, and in the last ten years, at the national level as well.

The Canadian Association for Adult Edycation (CAAE) was the first national organization of adult educators formed in Canada. A planning meeting was held in 1934, certain preparatory work carried out in the ensuing year (including a survey of adult education activities in Canada(Sandiford 1935)), and the CAAE was officially formed in 1935. It followed its American counterpart, the American Association for Adult Education, by some nine years, a point which is worth noting mainly because some of the same dynamics were at work in the two countries, including some stimulation and financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (Armstorng 1968; Faris 1975).

Short-lived, more local associations came and went in these early years; in Winnipeg (which actually predated the CAAE) (England 1980), Ontario (Ontario Association 1940), the Eastern Townships of Quebec (Eastern Townships 1941), and in Alberta (Bercusson 1944; Clark 1985), but the CAAE was alone in the field again by 1950, as far as English-speaking Canada was concerned.

In French-Canada, the field had at first been represented by a French-language sub-committee of the CAAE, an arrangement which continued for some nine years. In 1946, however, a new, autonomous French-language organization was created, the societe d'enseignement post-secondaire. In 1956, this organization was reconstituted as the Institut Canadien d'education des adultes (ICEA) (Morin 1950; Quebec 1981; Roberts 1982). The CAAE and the ICEA remain today as the two general or "umbrella" organizations in the field, one for the English and the other for the French-speaking communities in Canada, and both have for some twenty years received financial support on a regular basis from the federal government.

More specialized organizations came along in the subsequent decades. Some of those interested in the rural and agricultural dimensions of the field formed an Extension Group in 1940 under the Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturalists. This body met sporadically through the forties, but had disappeared by the early fifties. A fresh start was made in 1960 with the formation of the Canadian Society of Rural Extension. This body continues to the present day, the word "Rural" having been dropped from the name in 1970 (Adema 1984; Personal communication H. Baker to author). Some of those involved in university extension work joined in 1954 with colleagues who were in charge of administering summer schools in forming the Canadian Association of Directors of Extension and Summer Schools (CADESS). This organization is still in existence, having changed its name in 1974 to the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education (CAUCE) (CAUCE Handbook 1987). In 1965, those working in French language and bilingual universities created a parallel organization, l'ACDEULF, l'Association canadienne d'education des adultes dans les universites de langue francaise (Bourgeault et al 1982). And finally, as far as this period was concerned, following the passage of federal manpower training legislation in 1960, which had the effect of enormously expanding the number of persons engaged in vocational training programs, the federal government supported the formation of a national organization of those engaged in this work, the Canadian Vocational Association (CVA) (Selman 1980).

The sixties were an active period in the formation of associations of adult educators at the provincial level. The main reason for this development was active promotion by the national body, the CAAE. There had been provincial organizations of adult educators in B.C. and Saskatchewan in the fifties. The B.C. group, which had been in existence since 1954 (Selman 1969), put forward a proposal in 1961 that the CAAE revise its constitution in such a way as to allow for the formation of provincial associations of adult educators, not as separate organizations but as integral parts or "divisions" of the national body. This change having been brought about, six provinces formed such divisions during the decade: B.C. (1962), Nova Scotia (1963), Ontario (1966), Manitoba (1966), Saskatchewan (which became affiliated in 1963 and a division in 1967), and Newfoundland (1967) (Selman 1985). By the late sixties, it became apparent that a change in the structure of the CAAE was imminent, and for this and other reasons, adult educators in Alberta, when they formed an association in 1967, decided not to become part of the national body (Tewnion & Robin 1978; Roberts 1982). After the CAAE did change its structure in 1971, the provincial divisions were all reconstituted as autonomous organizations, affiliated with the CAAE and with representation on its Board of Directors. An additional development at the provincial level in the sixties was the formation in 1965 of the broadly-based Rural Learning Association of Ontario. While not representing the full spectrum of adult education in the province, its coverage was quite extensive in that it was formed as a result of the amalgamation of the Ontario Farm Radio Forum, the Folk School Council and the Rural Leadership Forum (Fleming 1972).

The latter years of the sixties were the starting point in the development of a number of more specialized associations at the provincial level. For reasons of clarity (and because the author is not informed sufficiently about the details of developments in all provinces), this will be illustrated in the case of one province only, British Columbia. In 1964, a group of those involved in adult vocational training in the province (who had a short time earlier formed an autonomous provincial organization) reconstituted it as a provincial chapter of the new national group, the Canadian Vocational Association. This provincial chapter remained in existence until it was amalgamated with the Pacific Association for Continuing Education in 1972 (Buttedahl 1986: Selman 1982). In 1965, a group of directors of adult education employed by the school boards of the province formed the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators. As the community college system developed, beginning in 1965, many of the adult education programmers in the colleges joined this organization as well. In 1967, those teaching English as a second language (approximately half of whom were in adult education), formed B.C. TEAL, Teachers of English as an Additional Language. In 1974, a number of those involved in training activities in business and industry and in government departments formed the Training and Development Society of B.C. (Some of these people had been active previously in the B.C. chapter of the American Society of Training Directors.) The next provincial organization to be formed was the

Association for Community Education, which was established in 1976 and is made up largely of those working in neighborhood houses, community schools, community centers and others working at the community level, including those with a community development emphasis. In 1977, initial steps were taken which resulted two years later in the formation of the Private Career Training Association of B.C., a body which involves people from private post-secondary career training institutions in the province. In 1979, a group of those involved in Adult Basic Education in the province, with stimulation from both the Movement for Canadian Literacy and the provincial Ministry of Education, formed the ABE Association of B.C. The last of these provincial organizations to be established was the Adult Special Education Association (now the ASE Network), formed in the early 1980s and concerned with educational services for handicapped persons (See Kulich 1986 for all these provincial bodies). At the provincial level, the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women is still in a stage of development, with "networks" existing in Victoria and Vancouver. All of these provincial bodies, including the Pacific Associatio for Continuing Education, mentioned earlier, are still active in the field at the present time, making at least nine organizations of adult educators in the province, quite apart from the national bodies in which some educators are active.

The last decade has brought the formation of several new national organizations. Although it was not established as an autonomous organization until 1979, the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women traces its beginnings back to committee status under the CAAE beginning in 1973 (CCLOW 1986). In 1977, a number of persons interested in literacy work formed the Movement for Canadian Literacy, successor organization to World Literacy of Canada, which was formed in the early fifties (Thomas 1983). Two years later, the first conference was held of TESL Canada, the national organization for teachers of English as a second language (Personal communication N. Collins to author). The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE/ACEEA) held an organizational conference in 1980 and a formal founding conference the next year. It is devoted to stimulating and making known research about adult education in Canada (Bourgeault 1982). Laubach Canada Inc. was also formally established in 1981, though literacy work utilizing its methods and materials dated back to 1970 in Canada (Personal communication to author L. Batdorf & Audrey Thomas). Community educators from several provinces established the Canadian Association for Community Education in 1984. And perhaps most recent among these national organizations, the Canadian Association for Distance Education functioned for a year under the auspices of the university extension body, CAUCE, and became an autonomous organization in 1985.

This list of organizations is not complete. At the national level there are certainly gaps. The author knows of other organizations, but has not been able to obtain information about their origins. At the provincial level, for reasons referred to above, it was decided to use British Columbia as a case example.

2. A Typology of Organizations

The organizations referred to above have been classified into a typology in an effort to examine them from the point of view of their basis of organization. There have been many attempts to do this for the field with respect to the agencies providing programs, most notably the work of Schroeder (1970, 1980), but little attention has been given to the organizations of adult educators. William Griffith (1980) has done some useful work in examining a particular type of organization, co-ordinating bodies in the field. The author has made an earlier attempt to classify organizations of adult educators (Selman 1983) and the present treatment is a further development and expansion of that analysis.

Basically, this represents an attempt to identify a number of categories into which the organizations of adult educators will fit appropriately. At the same time, an effort has been made to keep the number of categories relatively small, at the risk of making some compromises. The common observation that adult education is a diverse, unsystematic enterprise, a "patternless mosaic", as one writier has put it, is amply borne out.

The categories which have been utilized here are as follows: (See figure)

1. General or umbrella organizations. These are ones which attempt to represent or relate to the whole field of adult education.
2. Institutional. These are organizations which are based on the organizational or institutional setting within which the members carry out their work.
3. Content and Clientele. This category includes the organizations which are based on the subject matter or content of the programs being delivered, and in some cases on the nature of the clentele being served.
4. Methodology. These are organizations which have been formed on the basis of the methods or techniques employed by or of concern to the members.

This classification scheme has its strengths, but also its difficulties. Two examples of problems will illustrate. In the case of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, although the primary basis of organization is service to a particular clientele - women - the range of content is very wide. The same applies to the Canadian Society of Extension. The case of the Association for Community Education presents other problems. It is not easy to see where it fits, but it has been decided that its members' concerns are focussed predominantly on the relationship among the learner, the institutions/ organizations providing services, and the broader community. This is essentially

A Typology of Organizations of Adult Educators

	General or Umbrella	Institutional	Content or Clientele	Methodology
National	Can. Assoc. for Ad.Ed. Institut Canadien d'education des adultes Can. Assoc. for the Study of Ed.Ed.	Can. Assoc. for University Continuing Ed.	Can. Soc. of Extension Movement for Can. Literacy Can. Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women Can. Vocational Assoc. TESL Canada Laubach Canada Inc.	Can. Assoc. for Distance Education Can. Assoc. for Community Education
Provincial (B.C. examples)	Pacific Assoc. for Continuing Ed.	B.C. Assoc. of Continuing Ed. Administrators Private Career Training Assoc. of B.C.	Teachers of English as an Additional Language Training and Development Soc. of B.C. Ad. Basic Ed. Assoc. of B.C. Adult Special Ed. Network Networks of Can. Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women	Assoc. for Community Ed. (B.C.)

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a matter of relationships and therefore may be seen in terms of approach or methodology, broadly conceived. Such problems of "sorting" or classification are signs of a less than ideal typology, and perhaps further refinement is necessary.

3. Philosophical and Methodological Issues

Behind the typology used above lie a number of issues on the basis of which the various organizations listed here may be seen to vary, in some cases to represent contrasting views. Three of these will be identified and discussed briefly.

Movement "vs." Profession. There is considerable comment in the literature of the field on the phenomena of professionalization and institutionalization in adult education and the effects of these on the long-standing tradition of adult education as a social movement, and ally of other movements (Selman & Kulich 1980: Selman 1985a). One can see considerable variation among the Canadian organizations of adult educators with respect to these issues. Generally, members of the organizations in the institutional category and some in the "content" category are reasonably comfortable with the tendencies towards a more professionalized field, whereas many others, such as the ABE Association and the Association for Community Education, and at the national level, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, among others, are uncomfortable with many of the dimensions of professionalization and are actively concerned with the social impact of their educational endeavors.

Educators and Learners as Members. Perhaps another dimension of the issues identified above is the degree to which learners and community representatives, as well as educators, are active participants in these organizations. This is more likely to be the case with those groups which are closely associated with other social movements, as with the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, or with the organizations which have retained a sense of social mission themselves, such as the ABE and Community Education groups. Quite the opposite is true of the Canadian Association for University Continuing Education, the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators, and the Association for the Study of Adult Education.

Philosophical Stance. Some of the organizations, almost "by definition", or on the basis of their customary mode of operations, are identified with a social change position, or at least an active critique of our present social arrangements. This tends to be true of the Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, the ABE and Community Education Associations, and the CAAE.

The fact that there are clear differences of view on issues such as the three mentioned above clearly has impact on the level of communication which exists between groups of adult educators. Indeed it no doubt affects even the willingness to seek dialogue or common ground. Historically it may even be the case that the very formation of some of our organizations has taken place because the interests or point of view some persons represent were not being adequately addressed in the other organizations.

What are the functions of all these different organizations? Reference has been made to at least 30 bodies, and there are more, some at the national level and many in other provinces and territories. On the basis of examining the statements of purpose of quite a number of these bodies, several common elements can be identified.

1. Communication among the members. The purposes for which such communication is promoted are variously stated, but this seems to be a common aim.
2. Promotion of effective practice. In various ways, most if not all organizations seek to assist their members to be more effective practitioners, by means of the contacts, activities and services provided.
3. Advocacy. All the associations examined see advocacy as part of their task. The range of causes to be promoted, however, appears to vary

widely. In some cases, the advocacy is intended to be on behalf of the members' institutions or programs, and to increase the status of their work. In others, there is advocacy for the rights or welfare of the clients being served, or of whole sections of society - the "empowerment of women", for instance (CCLOW 1986,p.7).

4. Critical examination, research and demonstration. Some of the organizations seek to improve the state and knowledge about their fields in ways which go beyond what we normally think of as in-service professional development. This takes the form of research, the critical examination of programs, practices, policies and/or institutions, inter-institutional co-operation, and demonstration projects.

There are other functions performed by some of these associations, but the foregoing outline covers the ones shared by substantial numbers of them.

What is one to make of this proliferation of organizations of adult educators? The phenomenon can fairly be seen as a sign of a growing, rapidly-developing field, with growth bringing specialization. (It could also mean that we are a field of people who can't get along with each other and are constantly falling out and rushing off to form separate groups, but there is no need to entertain this thought.) The rate of social and technical change, which we are fond of writing and talking about from the point of view of its motivating impact on our students/members, is also having its effect on us professionally. For instance, the continuing influx of immigrants and refugees has heightened the need for English or French as a second language. The increased complexity of many occupational roles, and the efforts of governments to cope, has brought greater emphasis on basic education and technical and vocational training. Changing aspirations on the part of women has created a need for educational support services. The changing technology of communication has brought new opportunities for the delivery of educational assistance.

The four categories of organizations used in the typology above suggest grounds for establishing separate organizations. General or umbrella organizations are not likely going to be able to provide sustained, highly relevant services in a wide range of specializations. Organizations which are identified with the affairs of educational institutions and the "professionals" who work in them, are not likely to be much interested in the welfare of particular social movements. Organizations which are giving major emphasis to their role in relation to social movements will likely not be concerned about broadly-based research projects or about problems of professional status. And so as the field of practice has grown and become more complex, there has been a natural tendency for practitioners to form associations which would meet their particular needs.

One of the drawbacks to the proliferation of organizations is the fact that it almost inevitably leads to barriers to communication across the field as a whole. Specialization can lead to balkanization, and in large measure has. In theory, the field could gain the best of both worlds if all adult educators belonged to both the specialized organization(s) which best served their particular area of practice and also took part in an umbrella organization which was concerned with the broader concerns of the field. But there are several problems with this suggestion. First, not everyone has the time, interest or energy to play a part in several organizations. And further, although certain organizations may legitimately be categorized as umbrella organizations, they may not be perceived in those terms by all adult educators, or be acceptable to them all. The CAAE, for instance, which is the general organization for English-speaking Canada, has chosen to involve itself heavily with several social movements at the present time. It has at the same time decided not to respond to many other concerns of adult education practitioners. For any one of a number of reasons, therefore, adult educators, even those who might have been ready to join an umbrella organization, may decide not to join the CAAE, given its present policies. Educators who might be inclined to look to an umbrella organization at the provincial level might face similar problems, finding these bodies either too pre-occupied with professional concerns or too strongly linked with social causes for their taste.

There clearly are important advantages which are resulting from the present proliferation of adult educators' associations. The several functions of such bodies - communication, support services, joint advocacy, and research and demonstration - can in many cases be carried out more effectively, as far as the practitioner is concerned, if it is in as specific an area as possible. Those in adult basic education or distance education, to take two examples, wish on the whole to go to meetings, or receive journals, or lobby governments, etc., with focus on their own immediate interests rather than those covering the whole spectrum of adult education. The existence of such specialized organizations is also frequently seen as helpful in raising the visibility and status of the particular area of practice. Most adult educators see such specialization as resulting in a more beneficial use of their time, energy and funds. There seems no reason to question their judgment. Indeed it seems entirely likely that the proliferation of specialized agencies will continue.

At the same time, there seem to be some real and potential disadvantages resulting from this phenomenon. They flow from the barriers to communication which result from the balkanization of the field, and also from the difficulties which are thereby created in mounting advocacy efforts which speak on behalf of the field as a whole and on behalf of all adult learners' interests. It is not only a question of who will speak for the general interests of the adult learner, but also who sees it to be within their mandate to do so. If government receives representations from various parties or organizations about particular policy issues and "the experts disagree" in their recommendations, then the case may be badly damaged. But perhaps more seriously, if major issues are not spoken to at all because they do not seem to fall mainly within any specialized area, then the field may be guilty of letting the welfare of adult learners suffer by default.

At the same time, it would not appear to be realistic to expect a very large percentage of adult educators to play an active role in even two - a specialized and an umbrella - organizations. Specialization is in general the path of future development. What we need to be doing is to seek sensible ways for such specialized groups to act in concert when the situation calls for such action.

Two examples of inter-organizational co-operation, one national and one provincial, will be referred to briefly. In recent months, the CAAE has begun to develop a co-operative relationship with other organizations and social movements in seven areas of concern: cultural development, ecology, literacy, local economic development, peace, women's access to education, and learning and work. What is envisaged is a period of active co-operation focused on the educational components in each of these areas of social, cultural and economic development. It is seen as a "from now until further notice" arrangement and is based on a strong sense of common cause which exists at the present time among the leaders of the several organizations. But it is seen to be an ad hoc arrangement.

The provincial example is provided by the efforts of the Pacific Association for Continuing Education (PACE) to give stimulation to collaboration among the nine organizations of adult educators in B.C. In this case, the intention is more than an ad hoc arrangement, but it is a "limited" one in that the focus is primarily on advocacy activities. This initiative has been pursued since the early eighties, but has not included an attempt to establish a joint organization. Currently referred to as a "Council of Presidents", the group gets together at the call of the chair, who by mutual consent is the President of PACE. The present agenda focuses on the need to strike up effective communication with the new provincial government. Participation in the group is voluntary and implies no commitment in advance to take part in joint action. It is a forum for discussion and a potential vehicle for joint action.

In the view of this writer, the two examples just described are useful and appropriate models for further development. As has been documented above, the last two decades have seen an almost explosive proliferation of organizations of adult educators. There is in the author's view little if any readiness on the part of these organizations to think in terms of an ongoing commitment to a federated or co-ordinating agency, either provincially or nationally. But what is more likely is a willingness to engage with others in a joint approach to particular tasks, be it programming or advocacy, where there is a clear advantage to be gained from joint action and where there is freedom for the parties to engage in the joint activity for as long, and to the extent that is desired by each participating group.

A recipe for chaos? Perhaps. But we are old hands at living with chaos. There are jobs we can do together in the best interests of the adult learners we are serving. Our capacity to do this is thrown into question by the compartmentalization of the field into the many separate organizations. We need to devise ways and to develop the skills of working productively together, so that on those occasions where such joint action would be in the interest of the field as a whole, and of the welfare of adult learners in Canada, there will be a basis on which to act.

Founding Dates of Canadian Organizations Mentioned in this Article

1935	Canadian Association for Adult Education
1940	Extension Group, Canadian Sociaty of Technical Agriculturalists
1946	Societe d'enseignement post-secondaire (see 1956)
1954	Canadian Association of Directors of Extension and Summer Schools (see '74)
1954	B.C. Adult Education Council (see 1962)
1956	Societe...(1946) becomes Institut canadien d'education des adultes
1960	Canaian Sociaty of Rural Extension (drops "Rural" in 1970)
1962	BCAEC (1954) becomes B.C. Division of CAAE
1963	Canadian Vocational Association
1963	Nova Scotia Division of CAAE
1963	Saskatchewan Association for Continuing Education (see 1967)
1964	B.C. Chapter, Canadian Vocational Association
1965	l'Association canadienne d'education des adultes dans les universites de langue francaise
1965	Rural Learning Association of Ontario
1966	Ontario Association for Continuing Education (Ont. Div. of CAAE)
1966	Manitoba Division of CAAE
1966	B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators
1967	Sask. Assoc.(see 1963) becomes Sask. Div. of CAAE
1967	Newfoundland Division of CAAE
1967	Alberta Association for Continuing Education
1967	B.C. Teachers of English as an Aditional Language
1972	B.C. Div. of CAAE (1962) becomes Pacific Assoc. for Continuing Education
1973	B.C. Training and Development Society
1974	CADESS (see 1954) becomes Can. Assoc. for University Continuing Ed'n
1976	B.C. Association for Community Education
1977	Movement for Canadian Literacy
1979	Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women
1979	B.C. Association for Adult Basic Education
1979	TESL Canada
1980	B.C. Adult Special Education Association (now "Network")
1981	Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
1981	Laubach Canada Inc.
1984	Canadian Association for Community Education
1985	Canadian Association for Distance Education

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LE PROFIL ACTUEL ET FUTUR DE FORMATION ET DE PERFECTIONNEMENT DES FORMATEURS D'ADULTES

FERNAND SERRE

MAI 1987

1. Présentation du mandat

En septembre 1986, la Direction de l'éducation permanente du Ministère de l'Education voulait préciser les besoins de perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes des Services d'éducation des adultes des Commissions scolaires du Québec. Ce projet de la Direction de l'éducation permanente avait pour but ultime non seulement de préciser ces besoins, mais d'y répondre par la suite de la façon la plus adéquate possible.

Pour réaliser cet objectif, la présente recherche, une fois commandée, s'est réalisée en quatre étapes successives:

1. demander aux formateurs les compétences andragogiques qu'ils possèdent déjà et celles qu'ils veulent acquérir, ainsi que les modes de perfectionnement qu'ils souhaitent se voir offrir;

2. préciser quels sont les types d'activités de perfectionnement andragogiques que les Services d'éducation des adultes souhaitent pour les formateurs et les modalités de leur participation à l'élaboration de telles activités;

3. en compagnie de représentants des directeurs de Services d'éducation des adultes, présenter aux responsables des programmes universitaires de perfectionnement en andragogie les informations recueillies précédemment, en vue d'identifier les activités de concertation pour combler les écarts entre ces attentes et les services actuellement offerts;

4. rédiger un rapport sur les résultats des trois étapes précédentes; proposer des orientations aux formateurs d'adultes, aux directeurs, aux conseillers des Services d'éducation des adultes et aux responsables des programmes universitaires de perfectionnement.

2. Objectifs de la recherche

Cette recherche ne présente ni le profil des compétences ni la liste de tous les besoins de perfectionnement de l'ensemble des formateurs d'adultes des Services d'éducation des adultes; le profil des compétences maîtrisées et celui des compétences souhaitées que cette recherche permet de tracer est limité par la représentativité des personnes qui ont été sollicitées et qui ont répondu au questionnaire. Les données recueillies ne permettent donc pas de faire des extrapolations pour l'ensemble du réseau des formateurs d'adultes des Commissions scolaires.

Les objectifs de recherche retenus sont les suivants:

1. Etablir le profil de compétences d'un échantillon de formateurs des Services d'éducation des adultes des Commissions scolaires francophones du Québec qui désirent se perfectionner;

2. Procéder à une première identification et analyse des besoins de perfectionnement de ces formateurs d'adultes.

3. Méthodologie

Pour préciser le profil de compétences et les besoins de perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes, il était présupposé d'établir d'abord les rôles et les tâches exercés par ces derniers. Après avoir établi une liste des rôles et des tâches des formateurs d'adultes, l'élaboration d'un questionnaire portant sur leurs compétences devenait possible afin de pouvoir identifier leurs besoins de perfectionnement. Le questionnaire suivant a été élaboré et validé. Il a été utilisé auprès des formateurs interrogés au cours de la recherche .

4. Choix de l'échantillon

4.1 Description de la population cible

Les Services d'éducation des adultes des Commissions scolaires sont au nombre de 79 , distribués sur l'ensemble du territoire du Québec. Ces Services embauchent des milliers de formateurs pour dispenser des activités de formation à des adultes; la grande majorité d'entre eux travaillent à temps partiel. Il n'existe pas à notre connaissance d'étude qui décrive les conditions de travail de ces formateurs d'adultes pour l'année 1986-87. La dernière étude sur le sujet a été faite par Pelletier pour l'année 1981-82 (1) . L'absence d'étude plus récente a empêché de pouvoir bâtir un échantillon qui corresponde aux diverses composantes de la population cible actuelle.

4.2 Echantillon des Services d'éducation des adultes

Le mandat de cette recherche vise à ce que se développent des activités de perfectionnement qui répondent aux besoins de perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes des Services d'éducation des adultes des Commissions scolaires du Québec. Les responsables des activités de perfectionnement susceptibles de répondre à ces besoins de perfectionnement sont les universités qui offrent des programmes en andragogie.

Dans le mandat de cette recherche, il était prévu, dans un premier temps, d'identifier les compétences actuelles et souhaitées des formateurs d'adultes. Dans une deuxième étape, il était prévu de comparer le profil des compétences souhaitées des formateurs avec les activités de perfectionnement offertes dans les programmes actuels d'andragogie. L'analyse des résultats des deux opérations précédentes devait conduire à proposer, à la dernière étape, des activités mieux adaptées aux besoins et aux modalités de perfectionnement des formateurs, tels que précisés par eux-mêmes.

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(1) *Le perfectionnement des formateurs d'adultes,*
Gouvernement du Québec, 1985, Ministèere de l'éducation, p. 159.

Leclerc (1979) (2) dit que la distance joue un rôle important dans la fréquentation des gens aux activités offertes par les universités. La recherche qu'il a faite auprès de la clientèle adulte de l'Université de Sherbrooke démontre qu'au-delà de trente minutes de transport (trente milles ou cinquante kilomètres), les personnes viennent beaucoup moins nombreux aux activités offertes sur les campus universitaires .

Le pourcentage des Commissions scolaires retenu comme échantillon a été fixé à trente-trois pourcent de chacun des deux groupes décrits plus haut. Vingt-et-une Commissions scolaires ont été classées dans le groupe un (à une distance moindre de trente minutes de transport d'une université); quarante-six Commissions scolaires ont été classées dans le groupe deux (à une distance plus grande de trente minutes de transport d'une université).

Des vingt-et-une Commissions scolaires situées dans le groupe un (à moins de trente minutes de transport d'une université), sept ont été retenues. Le nom de chacune d'elles a été déposé dans une enveloppe et tiré au hasard. Elles sont:

la Commission scolaire de Beauport
la Commission scolaire de Chambly
la Commission scolaire de Chomedey de Laval
la Commission scolaire des écoles catholiques de Montréal
la Commission scolaire de la Neigette
la Commission scolaire de Sherbrooke
la Commission scolaire de Québec.

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(2) Leclerc, Gilbert, L'étudiant adulte à l'Université de Sherbrooke, nov. 1979, Université de Sherbrooke.

Des quarante-six Commissions scolaires situées dans le groupe deux (à plus de trente minutes de transport d'une université), quatorze ont été retenues. Le nom de chacune d'elles a été déposé dans une enveloppe et tiré au hasard. Elle sont:

la Commission scolaire de la Chaudière
la Commission scolaire de l'Industrie
la Commission scolaire du Lac-St-Jean
la Commission scolaire de la Vérendrye
la Commission scolaire du Littoral
la Commission scolaire Louis-Fréchette
la Commission scolaire Louis-Hémon (3)
la Commission scolaire de la Péninsule
la Commission scolaire Rouyn-Noranda
la Commission scolaire de Thetford Mines
la Commission scolaire Tracy
la Commission scolaire Vallée-de-la Matapédia
la Commission scolaire de Vaudreuil-Soulanges
la Commission scolaire de Valleyfield.

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(3) La Commission scolaire Louis-Hémon n'a pas pu participer à la recherche; elle a été remplacée par la Commission scolaire Pierre-Neveu.

5. Faits saillants et recommendations nendations

Certaines conclusions ressortent de l'analyse des données recueillies et analysées au cours de cette recherche . Elles sont présentées ici en vrac, sans explication, à cause du format de présentation.

1.Caractéristiques des formateurs qui ont répondu et retourné le questionnaire.

1. Des 2707 formateurs qui ont reçu le questionnaire, 522 (18%) l'ont retourné complété.

2. Le pourcentage des formateurs qui ont répondu est plus élevé dans les Commissisons scolaires éloignées des centres universitaires.

3. Des 522 formateurs qui ont répondu au questionnaire, 39% sont des hommes, 61% des femmes.

4. L'âge moyen des formateurs qui ont répondu au questionnaire est 37 ans.

5. 75% des formateurs qui ont répondu travaillent à temps partiel et 25%, à temps complet.

6. 46% travaillent en formation générale, 36% en formation professionelle, 14% en éducation populaire et 16% en alphabétisation.

7. Au-delà de la moitié ont travaillé plus de 316 heures au cours de l'année précédent l'enquête.

8. Environ la moitié ont moins de 5 ans d'expérience, les autres en ont plus.

9. Ceux qui ont le plus d'années d'expérience travaillent en formation générale, ceux qui ont le moins en alphabétisation.

10. La moitié des formateurs affirment avoir travaillé au secteur régulier entre 0 et 5 ans.

11. 64% détiennent un diplôme de premier cycle.

12. Les formateurs les plus scolarisés oeuvrent au secteur de la formation générale.

13. La moyenne d'années de scolarité est de 15,8 ans.

14. Le quart environ affirment avoir obtenu des attestations diverses, autres que celles décernées par les institutions scolaires.

15. Environ 25% disent s'être donné du perfectionnement par eux-mêmes.

2. Modalités de perfectionnement retenues par les formateurs

16. 94% des formateurs qui ont répondu au questionnaire veulent se perfectionner.

17. 54% des formateurs ne veulent pas voyager une distance qui exige plus de trente minutes de transport.

18. 88% des formateurs désirent du perfectionnement crédité.

19. 80% veulent être consultés sur le perfectionnement qu'on leur offre.

20. Les formateurs en alphabétisation sont ceux qui désirent le plus du perfectionnement.

21. 77% auraient désiré recevoir du perfectionnement dès les début de leur engagement.

22. 79% des formateurs jugent nécessaire le perfectionnement pour l'exercise de leur travail.

23. 32% des formateurs ont bénéficié de perfectionnement offert par les Services d'éducation des adultes, l'an dernier.

3. Le profil de compétences des formateurs

24. La très grande majorité des formateurs qui ont répondu au questionaire jugent que les 63 compétences présentées dans le questionnaire sont importantes.

25. Pour toutes les compétences andragogiques qui ont trait aux quatre rôles d'un formateur d'adultes (expert dans un champ d'étude, guide dans l'apprentissage, animateur et responsable de l'évaluation) les formateurs accordent plus d'importance qu'ils croient que leurs employeurs exigent d'eux.

26. Les formateurs estiment que leurs employeurs sont plus exigeants pour le rôle d'expert, moins pour celui de guide à l'apprentissage et encore moins pour les rôles d'animateur et de responsable de l'évaluation.

27. Les formateurs désirent acquérir un degré de maîtrise plus élevée des compétences de chacun des quatre rôles d'un formateur d'adultes.

28. Le degré de maîtrise souhaitée est toujours plus élevé que celui de la maîtrise actuelle.

4. Points forts de la rencontre entre les représentants des Services déducation des adultes et des Univesités.

29. Le perfectionnement fait l'objet de préoccupations des Services d'éducation des adultes actuellement.

30. Le corpus de la recherche répond à une attente et permet de situer le profil de compétences des formateurs d'adultes; ce profil était souhaité et on se réjouit d'en avoir un intéressant.

31. Au début, on est surpris d'apprendre que 50% des formateurs proviennent du secteur régulier; on se l'expliqe par la suite.

32. On est d'abord étonné de certains écarts, surtout de celui qui a trait à l'importance qu'accordent les formateurs aux compétences énumérées en regard de l'exigence qu'ils disent que leurs employeurs ont à l'égard de ces mêmes compétences.

33. On souhaite que le point de vue des gestionnaires soit inclus dans le rapport.

34. On s'interroge plus sur le comment se fera le perfectionnement des formateurs que sur quoi il portera.

35. Les directions des Services d'éducation des adultes doivent s'impliquer dans ce dossier.

36. Les conditions de travail précaires mettent la motivation à se perfectionner à dure épreuve.

37. L'arrimage entre les besoins et les attentes des formateurs et les programmes de perfectionnement en andragogie ne sont pas faciles.

38. Les centres éloignés se plaignent de recevoir peu de services.

39. En général, les universités se disent prêtes à engager des ressources hors campus pour les affecter à une telle tâche à la condition de les accréditer.

40. Les Services d'éducation des adultes souhaitent en général plus de souplesse de la part des universités.

41. Pour qu'il y ait un impact à la suite du perfectionnement, il est nécessaire que plusieurs formateurs aient participé ensemble pour pouvoir implanter dans leur milieu des façons nouvelles de travailler.

42. Les représentants des Services d'éducation des adultes désirent que le perfectionnement soit sur mesure, taillé à partir des besoins des formateurs et non à partir des cours prédéterminés des programmes universitaires.

43. Que le perfectionnement soit concret et pratique permettant la création et/ou l'utilisation d'outils de travail et permettant de mieux s'ajuster à de nouvelles clientèles

44. Que le perfectionnement tienne compte des relais dans les Services d'éducation des adultes,tels conseillers pédagogiques et directeurs.

45. Que l'on se préoccupe de perfectionner non seulement les formateurs , mais aussi les autres intervenants.

46. Que l'on développe des modèles de collaboration entre les Commissions scolaires et les universités.

LE PROFIL ACTUEL ET FUTUR DE FORMATION ET DE PERFECTIONNEMENT DES FORMATEURS D'ADULTES

RECHERCHE-ACTION DIRIGEE
PAR FERNAND SERRE

Questionnaire préparé par
Fernand Serre et Serge Vallières

Université de Sherbrooke

novembre 1986

FICHE D'IDENTIFICATION

Il est entendu que toutes les informations demeureront confidentielles. Elles ne serviront qu'à des fins de recherche. Nous vous demandons de metre un crochet (✓) ou un chiffre qui corrrespond à votre réponse.

Nom ____________________

Homme ____
Femme ____

Age ____________________

Commission scolaire de ____________________
Centre (s'il y a lieu) ____________________

Secteurs d'intervention
- Formation générale ____________
- Formation professionnelle ____________
- Education populaire ____________
- Alphabétisation ____________

Nombre d'années en éducation dans le secteur régulier ____________
en éducation des adultes ____________
Travail en éducation des adultes à temps plein ____________
à temps partiel ____________

Depuis combien d'années en éducation des adultes ____________

Si à temps partiel , combien d'heures en 1986 ____________
Si à temps partiel, travail à temps plein ailleurs ____________ oui ___
____________ non ___

Nombre d'années de scolarité ____________
Diplôme obtenu:
- Secondaire V (secondaire) ____________
- D.E.C. (collégial) ____________
- 1er cycle (certificat universitaire) ____________
- 1er cycle (baccalauréat universitaire) ____________
- 2e cycle (maîtrise universitaire) ____________
- plus (spécifiez) ____________
- autre (spécifiez) ____________

Autres attestations obtenues
Organisme ____________________
Attestation ____________________

Etudes autodidactes ____________________

MODALITES DE PERFECTIONNEMENT

Nous vous demandons de mettre un crochet[✓]
à l'endroit qui correspond à votre réponse

Je serais intéressé(e) à suivre des activités de perfectionnement données dans le milieu de travail oui_ non_

Je participerais à des activités qui durent 5-10 heures______
10 -20 heures______
20-30 heures______

Je peux participer à des activités de perfectionnement qui ont lieu à une distance de chez-moi de__(milles) ________

Je préfère que le perfectionnement soit crédité oui_ non_

Je participerais à une consultation en vue de l'élaboration d'activités de perfectionnement oui_ non_

Je m'inscrirais à un programme de perfectionnement si l'opportunité m'en était offerte oui_ non_

Le Service d'éducation des adultes a organisé en 1986 des activités de perfectionnement pour vous oui_ non_

Lorsque j'ai commencé en éducation des adultes, j'aurais aimé avoir du perfectionnement dès le début oui_ non_

Pour enseigner aux adultes, il n'est pas nécessaire de recevoir de perfectionnement oui_ non_

La tâche que le Service d'éducation des adultes vous confie justifie-t-elle que vous vous perfectionniez ? oui_ non_

PRÉSENTATION DU QUESTIONNAIRE SUR LES COMPÉTENCES REQUISES POUR BIEN ACCOMPLIR LA TACHE D'ÉDUCATEUR OU FORMATEUR D'ADULTES EN MILIEU SCOLAIRE

Etre éducateur ou formateur d'adultes est une tâche complexe qui exige la maîtrise de plusieurs compétences liées à autant de savoirs, savoir-faire et/ou savoir-être.

Certaines recherches sur l'éducation mettent en lumière le fait que toute situation éducative comprend quatre pôles:

- le contenu ou champ d'étude,
- la démarche qui fait référence aux capacités de gestion de l'apprentissage (planifier, organiser, évaluer l'apprentissage),
- les outils ou ce qui sert à l'apprentissage,
- et, le climat dans lequel se déroule l'apprentissage.

A chacun de ces pôles il est possible de rattacher des rôles assez bien circonscrits qui exigent chacun la maîtrise d'un certain nombre de compétences.

Pour les fins de cette étude et en accord avec des recherches effectuées jusqu'à aujourd'hui sur ce sujet, nous avons retenu quatre grands rôles que tout éducateur d'adultes semble être appelé à jouer à un moment ou l'autre de sa pratique:

- rôle d'"expert" dans un champ d'étude ou une matière précise,
- rôle de support et de guide de l'apprentissage d'un groupe et des individus qui le composent,
- rôle d'animateur au sens d'une personne avertie des phénomènes qui se passent dans un groupe d'adultes et qui peut y appliquer diverses techniques d'animation de groupe,
- puis finalement, rôle d'évaluateur des apprentissages.

Le questionnaire se divise en cinq colonnes. De gauche à droite vous trouverez:

1) la liste des compétences retenues,
2) Exigées: cette colonne correspond à la question suivante: "Cette compétence est-elle nécessaire et/ou exigée formellement et/ou informellement de l'éducateur d'adultes?"
3) Importantes: cette colonne correspond à la question suivante: "Même si cette compétence n'était pas exigée formellement et/ou informellement de votre employeur la jugez-vous importante pour la maîtrise de votre métier d'éducateur d'adultes?"

4) Maîtrisées: cette colonne correspond à votre niveau de maîtrise actuelle en regard de cette compétence.
5) Niveau de maîtrise souhaité: cette colonne correspond au niveau de maîtrise que vous jugez devoir atteindre en regard de cette compétence pour bien accomplir votre métier d'éducateur d'adultes.

Les deux dernières colonnes sont subdivisées en une échelle allant de 0 à 5. Cette échelle fait référence aux niveaux de maîtrise suivants:

0 je n'ai aucune idée de ce que cela veut dire,
1 j'en ai entendu parler ou j'ai vu faire,
2 je suis capable d'en parler, mais je ne l'ai jamais fait personnellement ou j'ai très peu lu sur ce sujet,
3 j'utilise avec un certain succès cette compétence ou ce savoir lorsque j'en ai besoin,
4 j'utilise régulièrement et avec succès cette compétence ou ce savoir lorsque j'en ai besoin,
5 je maîtrise suffisamment cette compétence ou ce savoir pour agir comme personne-ressource ou pour écrire sur le sujet.

C'est donc en ayant constamment à l'esprit les différents paliers de cette échelle qu'il faut noter chacune des compétences énumérées dans ce questionnaire; d'abord en situant votre niveau de maîtrise actuelle, puis celui que vous croyez devoir atteindre pour être satisfait de vous-même comme éducateur d'adultes.

Certaines compétences que vous jugez essentielles ou importantes ont pu nous échapper; si tel est le cas, nous vous demandons de les ajouter à la présente liste. Un espace (Autre) a été prévu à la fin des compétences reliées à chaque rôle; vous pouvez l'utiliser au besoin ou ajouter ces compétences à la fin du questionnaire.

Étant donné la complexité de notre tâche d'éducateur d'adultes, il nous apparaît normal que certaines compétences soient moins bien maîtrisées que d'autres; il n'y a donc pas lieu d'y trouver une raison pour se sentir incompétent. Cette étude se veut positive et l'on doit aborder nos réponses à ce questionnaire en se disant qu'elles pourront nous aider à mieux accomplir une tâche complexe qui nous tient à coeur et qu'on exécute déjà avec un certain succès.

Nous vous remercions de votre collaboration. Elle nous est essentielle pour mener à bien cette étude.

CONSIGNES A RESPECTER POUR RÉPONDRE AU QUESTIONNAIRE SUR LES ROLES DE L'ÉDUCATEUR D'ADULTES

1) Avant de répondre, lire attentivement le texte de présentation du questionnaire. Il est essentiel à une bonne compréhension des termes utilisés.

2) Se référer au besoin au texte de présentation qui suit en répondant au questionnaire.

3) Encerclez le chiffre correspondant à votre niveau de maîtrise actuelle et au niveau souhaité plutôt que des astériques ou des crochets.

EXEMPLE: NE PAS FAIRE:

	Exigées		Importantes		Maîtrisées	Niveau de maîtrise souhaitée
	oui	non	oui	non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
8. Morceler les apprentissages en courtes unités						

FAIRE:

8.					②	4

Formule de féminisation

Dans le but d'alléger le texte nous avons dû utiliser le masculin, sans aucune discrimination.

SECTEUR D'INTERVENTION: ALPHABÉTISATION ___ GÉNÉRAL ___ PROFESSIONNEL ___ POPULAIRE ___

COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
A) Rôle d'expert en tant qu'"expert" dans un champ d'étude ou une matière précise je dois:	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
1. Connaître ma matière					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
2. M'informer des développements dans ma matière					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
3. Choisir des méthodes et moyens d'enseignement appropriés à ma matière					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
4. Identifier les préalables à un cours donné					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
5. Utiliser des objectifs d'apprentissage mesurables					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
6. Rédiger des objectifs d'apprentissage mesurables					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
7. Concevoir et rédiger du matériel d'appoint pour mon cours tel que: exercices, tests, etc.					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
8. Morceler les apprentissages en courtes unités					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
9. Concevoir et rédiger le programme pour un cours donné en tenant compte des besoins des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
10. Concevoir et rédiger du matériel d'apprentissage adapté à des adultes.					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
11. Évaluer la valeur d'un programme destiné à des adultes.					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
12. Évaluer la qualité et la pertinence du matériel didactique utilisé dans un cours avec des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
A. Autre(s)					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

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COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
B) En tant que personne devant supporter et/ou guider les apprentissages d'un groupe d'adultes et des individus qui composent ce groupe, je dois:	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
13. Communiquer efficacement avec les adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
14. Identifier les obstacles à une communication efficace avec des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
15. Connaître les diverses théories sur le processus d'apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
16. Analyser son enseignement en regard de théories du processus d'apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
17. Utiliser efficacement les moyens audio-visuels (y compris l'ordinateur) et les écrits appropriés à un enseignement adapté aux adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
18. Utiliser au cours de la formation une variété de méthodes techniques et approches éducatives					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
19. Établir des liens entre l'apprentissage et l'expérience des apprenants adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
20. Aider l'adulte à établir des transferts entre l'apprentissage en cours et son application pratique					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
21. S'assurer que les adultes comprennent bien les objectifs de la formation et en saisissent toute l'importance					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
22. Créer un climat propice à l'apprentissage pour adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
23. Donner la possibilité à l'adulte de se prononcer sur le fonctionnement du cours					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
24. Connaître les effets des diverses caractéristiques des adultes susceptibles d'influencer leur apprentissage: expérience, stades de développement, motivation, perception du temps, image de soi...					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
B) Rôle du guide (suite)	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
25. Aider l'adulte à maîtriser la méthodologie du travail intellectuel					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
26. Aider l'adulte à développer des habiletés qui facilitent l'apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
27. Aider l'adulte à identifier et à résoudre ses difficultés d'apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
28. Reconnaître les symptômes qui nuisent à l'apprentissage chez l'adulte					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
29. Aider les adultes à maîtriser des techniques de résolution de problèmes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
30. Aider les adultes à se fixer eux-mêmes des objectifs de formation					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
31. Identifier les ressources communautaires capables de répondre à certains besoins des adultes, ex: CLSC, centres de main d'oeuvre, etc.					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
32. Tenir compte des différences culturelles et individuelles susceptibles d'influencer l'apprentissage de l'adulte					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
33. Connaître les motivations des adultes à retourner aux études					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
34. Connaître les obstacles qui empêchent des adultes de retourner aux études					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
35 Adapter l'enseignement au rythme d'apprentissage individuel de l'adulte					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
36. Aider l'adulte à dominer sa peur de l'échec					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
B) Rôle du guide (suite)	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
37. Fournir un feedbadk positif et correctif sur les apprentissages de l'adulte					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
38. Identifier les différents aspects d'une relation d'aide auprès des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
39. Connaître les attitudes de base à respecter dans une relation d'aide avec des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
40. Utiliser les techniques appropriées dans une relation d'aide avec des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
41. Connaître ses propres limites par rapport à la relation d'aide individuelle					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
42. Encourager et supporter chez l'adulte l'auto-apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
43. Stimuler la créativité des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
44. Favoriser chez l'adulte l'expression de ses idées personnelles					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
45. Connaître les différents styles d'apprentissage					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
B. Autre(s)					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
C) En tant qu'animateur d'un groupe d'adultes je dois:	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
46. Connaître les principes de base du travail en sous-groupes chez les adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
47. Connaître les principes de base de la dynamique des groupes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
48. Connaître des stratégies d'animation tenant compte de la résistance au changement					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
49. Connaître les éléments fondamentaux qui déterminent la croissance et le développement des groupes restreints (moins de 12)					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
50. Utiliser diverses techniques d'animation de grands et de petits groupes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
51. Identifier les leaders et les aider à développer leur potentiel					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
52. Établir des relations interpersonnelles dans un groupe d'adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
C. Autre (s)					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

COMPÉTENCES	EXIGÉES		IMPORTANTES		MAÎTRISÉES	NIVEAU DE MAÎTRISE SOUHAITÉ
D) En tant que personne responsable de l'évaluation des apprentissages des adultes, je dois:	Oui	Non	Oui	Non	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
53. Pouvoir utiliser divers outils d'évaluation					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
54. Diagnostiquer les préalables à la réussite d'un cours donné pour des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
55. Rédiger des outils d'évaluation diagnostique chez les adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
56. Rédiger des outils d'évaluation formative pour des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
57. Rédiger des outils d'évaluation sommative pour des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
58. Suite à l'évaluation, diagnostiquer les difficultés d'apprentissage de l'adulte et proposer des correctifs appropriés					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
59. Suite à l'identification de difficultés, proposer un apprentissage complémentaire pour des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
60. Consigner dans un dossier les progrès des adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
61. Favoriser l'auto-évaluation chez les adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
62. M'évaluer moi-même comme éducateur d'adultes					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
63. Évaluer mon comportement par rapport à mes collègues					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
64. Évaluer ma performance en équipe de travail					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
65. Diagnostiquer moi-même mes besoins de perfectionnement					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
66. Me donner moi-même du perfectionnement					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
67. Autre (s)					0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

COMMITMENT TO A MOVEMENT:
The History of the Ontario Association for Continuing Education 1966-1986*

Rosemary Smith

Introduction

> I like history because my reading of
> it is accompanied by the comforting
> certainty that all the people I meet
> in its pages are dead.
>
> C.F. Lloyd

No such certainty comes with reading the history of the Ontario Association for Continuing Education (OACE). As a relatively young organization, its memories belong to people who are very much alive. Its growing pains over the twenty years of its existence have created a roller coaster effect of productivity and crisis, an evident predominating theme. The other central theme in examining OACE evolves around the social movement based on the value of lifelong learning. This social movement has seen conscious efforts to improve the nature of society, by means of a wider application of adult education. The two themes provide the basis for this paper.

Purpose

The intention of this historical research was to document a comprehensive chronology of the Association. Only one other publication has made any attempt to record the OACE history, the Canadian Adult Education Heritage project in 1980. That document provides no background to the founding of OACE or details of activities; it is merely a listing of accomplishments with no details and with some inaccuracies. The present paper intends to examine the very important question of why the Assocation was formed and to supply the details of OACE activities, accomplishments and any resulting effects which may be noted. On the occasion of the Association's twentieth anniversary, past, present and potential members of the Association, as well as those in the adult education field, may find the following helpful as a means of understanding the origins and development of OACE. Based on the premise that the more knowledge one has, the more informed one's decision can be, a detailed account of the Association's activities may facilitate the separation of transient concerns from those which are central and relevant, enabling future decision making in a more positive manner; past experiences will guide the direction of future change. Although prediction per se is not a goal of historical research, it can offer clues to possible behaviour and allow one to anticipate and to take precautions.

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Finally, this paper will contribute to the history of Canadian adult education, for as Mike Welton notes in his paper prepared for the fiftieth anniversary of the Canadian Association of Adult Education, "despite the fact Canadians have been innovative creators of adult educational forms and creative adaptors of received ones, the field of Canadian adult educational history is seriously underdeveloped".[1]

Sources of Information

In the interest of obtaining the best information available about OACE, only primary sources of information were used. These include written Minutes of the Board of Directors meetings and Executive meetings, supplemented by files pertaining to items discussed in the Minutes, correspondence and the publication, ORACLE. The Minutes were deemed the most valid source of information since their proximity in time was closest to the recording of the events of OACE. The purpose of these Minutes was intended to be an impartial recording of the discussions held at meetings. Personal interviews provided undocumented information and confirmed information which sometimes was only inferred by the recorded Minutes. Secondary sources of information were used in familiarizing the author with the topic.

It was assumed that the records forwarded to the researcher by the Association were authentic but not necessarily complete.

Limitations

An historical account is a personal interpretation of the best, most relevant evidence available to the researcher. The researcher must exercise judgement at two points in the process; first in deciding what is relevant and then in deciding how to present the evidence. In presenting the evidence, a certain degree of interpretation is necessary to bring insight and coherence to the set of facts. The perspective of the interpretation brought to the paper by the biases and values of the researcher is a limitation in preparing historical research. Therefore, the present paper is not the definitive OACE history but simply a documentation of OACE history which stresses certain themes and disregards others. The option exists for the past to be seen through many other eyes and in turn, produce other interpretations of the Association's history.

Additionally, the Minutes of Board meetings are shaped by the competence, biases and values of the recording officer. In reading the Minutes, it is apparent that various recording styles exist. Some writing styles include much detail, others less; still others introduce an emotional factor by the choice of words or by noting the type and length of discussion on a topic. As a consequence, the narration of some events will be more or less detailed reflecting the quantity and quality of the files.

The researcher's efforts are also limited by the tendency for the successes of the Association to be fully documented, while the recording of less successful ventures is incomplete. It is difficult to provide the closest approximation of the truth when the evidence is skewed towards the positive aspects of the organization.

A final limiting factor results from the relatively young history of the Association. When detail is lacking, it most often occurs in the crisis periods of the organization. The people who made up the history during these times know the facts. Unfortunately, some of these same people are reluctant to relate their stories because of the delicate nature of the situations and its possible implications to others. The researcher must respect this reluctance and do the best possible with the available records.

OACE: The Response to a Social Movement

By taking a quick walk through history, it is evident OACE was a natural and logical product of the social movement for lifelong learning. Only a few of the relevant people and philosophies are highlighted here. See the bibliography for further reading on the pre-OACE years of the movement.

The first widespread adult education movement to travel to Canada from England was the Mechanics Institute movement. It was an important development because it insisted education was the right of all and not a right to be dispensed by those in power. The movement arrived in Canada in 1831, yet by the end of the century, the movement had largely disappeared. The Mechanics Institute movement had become professional, paternalistic and centralized by disregarding the needs, interests and demands of those most concerned.[2]

The adult education movement in Canada continued predominantly under private initiatives, such as the Women's Institute founded in 1897, a movement devoted to the education of rural women. In 1917, Albert Mansbridge, founder of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) in Great Britain, visited Toronto. Mansbridge believed all workers should have the opportunity to obtain the benefits of a liberal arts university education which he felt were at the root of social understanding and harmony. He inspired a tremendous enthusiasm and the WEA was formed in Ontario in 1918. A student of the WEA, Drummond Wren possessed a keen interest in the workers' movement. He made the WEA a national success in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s. Wren felt the WEA should, whenever possible, assist other organizations in the development of services. In the context of the severe strain occasioned by the Great Depression, the adult education movement in Canada advanced. Through Wren's efforts and connections to the American Association for Adult Education, the Candian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) was established in 1935.[3]

The Second World War brought a period of tremendous expansion of adult education activities, notably citizenship education. Radio in Canada was rapidly developing as an instrument of education as well as entertainment. With the leadership of the CAAE, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) broadcast the National Farm Radio Forum (launched in 1941) and the Citizen's Forum (1943), both landmark achievements in the nation's adult education history.[4]

One of Canada's greatest adult educators, J.R. Kidd, thought a good part of the vitality in Canadian adult education in the thirties and forties was the result of its "amateurism". Most adult educators had studied in fields other than adult education so that no difficult, specialized vocabulary and jargon prevailed.[5] As the fifties approached, Kidd felt that unlike the thirties and forties, there was a considerable body of knowledge which each well trained adult educator had to master.[6] Selman concurs with the sense of professionalism which emerged in adult education in the fifties, witnessed by the beginning of organizations of adult educators in some provinces.[7] The provincial organizations were separate and distinct from the CAAE but in 1958, if they chose to, the provincial organizations could affiliate with the CAAE and name a representative to the CAAE's National Council.[8]

By the 1960s, adult education in Ontario and across Canada was truly coming of age. In this decade, the profession itself was developing: degree programs were starting to appear, research was increasing and new organizations dedicated to the cause of adult learning were being set up. Adult education was no longer a remedial activity but instead, a part of a normal pattern of lifelong learning. Emphasis was placed on research, sound theory, organization of the field and the need for professional training and staffing. In the opinion of Selman and others, "commitment to both the social movement tradition of adult education and to its professionalisation are necessary for the vitality and effectiveness of the field of social practice".[9]

CAAE Director, Alan Thomas, knew the emerging provincial interests had to be supported. The CAAE constitution was modified in 1962 to integrate provincial divisions with the national body. A British Columbia division was recognized that year and a Nova Scotia division soon after. By 1964, similar sentiments were being expressed in Ontario.

Crisis, Commitment and Continuity

An organizing committee of the CAAE began work in September, 1965. The Ontario Association for Continuing Education was founded at Toronto, April 15 and 16, 1966, funded by the Atkinson Charitable Foundation. OACE was both a division of the CAAE and the Continuing Education section of the Ontario Educational Association with a sharing of members and dues. OACE was an association both to facilitate the social movement of adult education and to contribute to the recognized lack of research and training in the field. The conference attracted representatives from the labour movement, cultural institutions, religious groups, government, voluntary groups and formal educational institutions. OACE was intended to unify and coordinate these numerous efforts. Through the act of solidarity, a wider and better application of adult education could be provided in Ontario communities.

The early years of OACE were marked by the writing of its constitution, understanding and meeting the mandates of the membership. The first year was a struggle without any office staff but an extra grant from the Atkinson Foundation permitted the hiring of an administrative secretary, Arthur Bullied. The first major endeavours of OACE were in the forms of directories. Both the Ontario Bulletin on Training and the Continuing Education Directory for Metropolitan Toronto 1969 (Metrodoc) provided listings of training for adult education courses. These resources could provide the community with a better information source to facilitate learning choices.

As OACE was becoming recognized within the province, the CAAE felt the provincial divisions within its structure were straining the resources of the national organization. OACE opposed the division breakdown, as the hierarchy of adult educational organizations (local, regional, national) seemed natural in the progression of grass-roots community development. However, the provincial divisions were abandoned in May, 1971, and OACE had to begin its own independent search for both funding and members, marking the first significant crisis for OACE. OACE re-evaluated its existence, recognizing its limitations as a voluntary organization, covering a large and diverse geographical area with few financial resources.

With the leadership of Norman High, OACE reaffirmed its purpose and emphasized its own identity with the creation of a logo and a publication, ORACLE. The work of the Community College Committee provided public recognition for OACE by monitoring the growth of the community colleges. OACE was visibly a provincial voice for continuing education, representing the adult learner in its brief to the Wright Commission on Post Secondary Education. It researched and published a document, The Community Colleges and Their Communities, outlining the unique relationships of colleges to communities. The publication heightened public awareness of OACE. In effect, OACE was monitoring one component of the educational movement in Ontario. Its activities were further complemented by the publication of the well received Explorations in a Night Culture, which examined the phenomenon of adult night school classes. It was at this time too, when OACE became involved in the professionalization of the field by introducing LARK (Leaders of Adult Resource Kits). LARK was designed to enhance the effectiveness of teachers of adults. In other words, it was contributing to the development of staff through self-training. LARK was requested extensively in the field, however no feedback of its effectiveness is recorded. Despite its novelty, LARK was an expensive and time-consuming program to maintain. By the late 1970s, LARK was in dire need of updating and renewal but the lack of funds prevented this.

The continuity of the Association was disturbed by a staff change in 1973. Don Groff replaced Arthur Bullied and a flurry of activity ensued. Groff was known for his enthusiasm and connections in the field and he vigorously spoke throughout the province on behalf of OACE. Networking projects began connecting resources in an effort to expand adult education activities. It was a progression of the social movement. OACE developed a well-known network and eventually, many outside project proposals were solicited for OACE support. The desire to respond to the proposals encouraged fiscal irresponsibility and a situation of task force overload (68 at one point), brought OACE to its most serious crisis in 1975. OACE needed an extra grant from its funding source, the Ministry of Colleges and Universities to alleviate a huge deficit (about $42,000), or it would cease to exist. Without a doubt, 1975 represents the most tumultuous time in OACE history. The thriving momentum of OACE was altered by the confusion of many projects, the communication breakdown between staff and volunteers, inattention to administrative tasks in the OACE office and a bankruptcy scenario, leading to a staff change and a reorientation towards administrative tasks to resuscitate an Association drowning in demands.

Under the leadership of President Ken MacKeracher and a new Executive Secretary, Hilary Martin, OACE began its climb to regain acceptance and credibility with its membership and funding ministry by realigning its priorities to debt reduction and membership growth.

Bolstering membership and organizing the annual conference became priorities with the emphasis on activity for members. Since this time, the Association has entered a stage of struggling to produce under financially constrained circumstances. Following the financial crisis, it meant projects were funded through Wintario grants and through student employment programs. The "Experience" student employment program funded further networking projects throughout the province in the Summers of 1976, 1977 and 1978.

Through submitting a brief to the Jackson Commission on Declining Enrollments in Ontario, the absence of adult education policy in the province became an enunciated fact. Beginning 1977, OACE became a significant force in policy development. It generated awareness of the need for policy, gathered alternatives and solutions through organized discussion groups and submitted papers and proposals to the policy decision makers. The energies of OACE in the late 1970s brought much needed credibility, visibility, goodwill and active voluntarism to the Association. Further visibility and media attention were gained with OACE participation in the 1979 CBC-CAAE venture of People Talking Back, a series of televised programs concerned with grass-roots issues for Canadians. The involvement contributed directly to the social movement by providing a learning opportunity.

In 1980, OACE embarked on a heritage project allowing for a methodical organization of its records and files, eventually resulting in two publications, The Canadian Adult Education Heritage (chronology of OACE) and your heritage is your future (how to maintain records). Despite all the productivity and good work of OACE, 1979-81 saw a lowered interest in the Association. With no grant increases from the funding ministry and with a commitment to financial responsibility, OACE was less and less able to maintain its visibility; even the hiring of administrative staff was sporadic. President Christopherson alluded to the difficulties in her 1979 annual report stating, "It was a year which included not only an Association in action, but a year of communication breakdown resulting in working conditions of unanticipated strain".[10] Also, the public perception of OACE was attaching an aura of professionalism to OACE. The professionalism was perceived due to the presence of many adult education professionals who were visibly part of OACE and its intensive policy lobbying. A Joint Committee for Policy was comprised of professionals with the major institutions and organizations involved with adult education. The fact intimidated some and annoyed others.[11] For these reasons, the 1980s began slowly with another period filled with queries about identity and purpose. The momentum of the policy task force did continue as Continuing Education: The Third System was released by the Ministry of Education.

After some reflective time, OACE was revived in 1982, when Wendy Terry became President. She brought the personal touch of the Association to regions throughout the province, by making visits and speaking. Although membership fees had increased, so did membership. The Norman High Award was instiuted - an award which recognizes a person with outstanding contribution to the field of adult education. The ongoing presentation of the Norman High Award represents OACE commitment to the adult educator. Recognition given to the silent field worker brings at the same time. recognition to the Association. The high profile activity attracts the attention of OACE members, adult educators and government.

Realizing the importance of technology to the field, Telidon technology was used in a pilot project in London, Ontario, to develop a continuing education directory. It was to be the model for a city-by-city development of the directory but insufficient funding did not allow the follow-up. Nevertheless, it was an attempt to make learning choices easier for adults.

Since the leadership of Mark Waldron, beginning in 1984, a sense of continuity has pervaded the Assocation. Monitoring policy remained a top priority with the controversial Bill 30 and the release of For Adults Only. Concentrated efforts produced quality conferences. Waldron has been instrumental in the planning of a new communications vehicle for OACE. The proposed magazine has now reached fruition with the release of the Charter issue of Lifelong Learning in Ontario in April, 1987. The publication should provide the Association with an exciting link to educators and learners throughout the province and beyond.

OACE's focused activity of policy has shown its serious commitment to adult/continuing education. The unquestionable commitment has allowed OACE to be seen as a mature, well established Association. The commitment continues with the leadership of David Grimes and the agenda includes financial independence from government funding, continued input to policy for adult education and a network for the various groups in adult education through a galaxy conference in the Fall of 1987.

Recommendations to the Association

1. Visits by Association Executives to local councils have proven to be effective, as in the case of Wendy Terry's excursions. The practice should be continued. The Association's membership is an important political and financial resource, including a source of volunteers to fill various positions. In essence, the number of memberships gives a head count, representing the magnitude of support for the Association's stand on adult education issues. It is especially important when trying to convince politicians. Members are a source of revenue through membership fees and they provide a sounding board for the plans and actions of the Association. Keeping in touch is vitally important in maintaining a membership. The new publication, Lifelong Learning in Ontario, should be invaluable in attracting and keeping members.
2. Job descriptions for staff ought to be provided. A staff person is important to the continuity of an organization; because of him/her, an issue may stay alive for several years even though waves of volunteers may come and go. Outlining responsibilities at the outset may prevent much misunderstanding later.
3. Conferences should be developed which will encourage the diversity of the field to gather together and, through the conference experience, explore both the similarities and the differences. The diversity of the organization has been the Association's strength and weakness. A diverse membership brings with it a variety of talents and experiences but at the same time makes it difficult to develop a focus. Selecting conference themes has always been a problem. The present focus on policy has been a good bonding mechanism for the Association because the policy issue addresses all walks of adult education life. Conferences should continue to be that activity which brings the diversity together to show the membership that it has many shared concerns.

4. A diverse funding base should be sought. The danger of the single funding source system (in this case, the Ministry of Education), is the power of the funder to lessen or end its support. Assured control by the Association is another aspect of a diverse funding base. For OACE, with over 50 percent of its funding coming from the Ministry of Education, it could be viewed as a government agency. In fact, during the financial crisis of 1974-75, the bank allowed a large overdraft because it believed OACE to be a government agency. With OACE playing such an active advocacy role in policy for adult education, it must be careful not to bite the hand that feeds it. Diverse funding by corporations and foundations would eliminate this situation. Ideally, OACE needs the volunteer services of a professional fund raiser/manager.
5. The practice of executive committee meetings should be reintroduced. Because people are volunteering their time, a board meeting must be crisp and well organized. It is only for limited discussion and decisions; detailed work should be carried out in committee. Executive committee meetings would allow the screening of issues and provide an agenda of decisions for board meetings. In particular, the executive committee must take the time to ponder possibilities for resource acquisition. The imminence of withdrawal of government funding should make the concern a top priority of OACE. Obviously, the potential for a life-threatening crisis to OACE is extremely possible.
6. The adult learner must remain in sharp focus. Although OACE has documented the adult educator as one of its two main target groups, today's educator must cater to the learner. The primary reason for pursuing adult education is job-related. The adult learner demands learning experiences to complement and advance his or her career/job path. In the past, the adult educator has been more of an initiator by providing education for citizenship. To understand today's adult educator is to understand the adult learner.
7. Records need to be accurate and complete. The membership records and financial statements have been inconsistent and

allow little or no logical analysis. For instance, it is difficult to ascertain exactly when (month and year), that OACE was relieved of its debt. If interest in the past is to continue, the quality and extent of present records should not be neglected.

8. The limitations of a voluntary organization need to be kept in mind. Because of the different resource base compared to profit-making organizations, the chances of overextending the voluntary organization's resources are great. The short-term intensive activity levels which are most typically offered by volunteers will support a limited number of activities. Attention to this fact could facilitate the program planning process.
9. The Board of Directors should continue to be represented by people working at both the community level and in administration. Maintaining a balance of both will prevent the alienation of either group from OACE membership.
10. Before embarking on further membership campaigns, it should be determined if a real potential for more members exists. With the acceptance of lifelong learning, the numbers participating within the adult education field have grown. The greater number of people brings a diversity of thinking, and branches of specific concern stem from the mainstream of thought. As a result, new organizations are established to reflect the new specializations arising out of the mass movement. Simply said, there now is competition for members which did not exist twenty years ago. OACE is a general umbrella organization and it is competing with dozens of topic-specific organizations for membership. Few people seem willing to commit resources and volunteer time to more than a couple of organizations.

Recommendations for Research

It has been seen through the examination of the history of OACE, that the lives of key people have had a direct bearing on the general social movement and specifically to the evolvement of OACE. Biographies of Norman High and J. Roby Kidd and autobiographies of Alan M. Thomas and Gordon Selman would be most relevant. These men have made significant contributions to the field through their publications and active participation. In the future, understanding the personal philosophies of these and other adult educators may aid in deciphering the path of this dynamic Canadian social movement.

Conclusion

The goals of OACE over the twenty-year span have never really changed. The stated objectives of the original constitution are very much the objectives today, with the exception of the relationships to the CAAE and the OEA. The dual functions of supporting the social movement and contributing to the professionalization of the field are reflected in its goals to provide leadership, information services and initiative with respect to training and development of adult educators. There have been differences over the years in how these goals have been pursued and accomplished.

Through its endurance and perseverance, OACE has proven itself to have a permanent position in the adult education community in Ontario. The need for a provincial organization is no less now than it was twenty years ago. From the outset of OACE existence, one of the multiple roles of OACE has been to monitor policy. With a progressive and well-funded educational system in Ontario in the mid-sixties, the community colleges were introduced. All sectors of the adult education field (community, health care system, religion, industry, education) knew that providing educational opportunities was vital in contributing to the quality of community life. As a united group known as OACE, the colleges were studied with the purpose of ensuring that the mututal benefits to community and college students were being realized. Today in economic times which do not allow a generous provincial government startup for the third system, i.e. adult education, the role of OACE in policy development is more crucial. Represented by adult educators, OACE in the 1970s comprehended the necessity of a policy framework in order to be effective in the offering of adult education. OACE aroused the public awareness to the absence of policy, encouraged the government to generate policy and now is monitoring the present third system policy and its implementations. OACE provides a human perspective to the policy decisions. In a democratic system of government, a necessary component to ensure democracy is constructive criticism of policy. OACE contributes to democracy and the well-being of adult learners and educators by promoting and monitoring adult education policy in Ontario.

Twenty years ago, conferees at the founding conference expressed the desire for a publication to link the many sectors of the adult education field. As an organization comprised of the many sectors, OACE is a likely choice as the provider of the linkage. Although ORACLE to this point has been that linkage tool to a degree, ORACLE has mainly been an OACE newsletter. A professionally produced periodical about progress in the adult education field (policy developments, learner experiences, specific programs, innovations, etc.) with input from all sectors will be an effective connecting mechanism within OACE as well as a tool to reach out beyond OACE membership. The provision of such a publication will be a service to adult educators.

Originally designed as a coordinating organization, OACE can continue to fulfill its role as a coordinator by offering an annual conference. The conference can gather together the diversity within the field of adult education by choosing themes which adult educators and administrators can share regardless of their orientation. The conference can provide the face-to-face interactions between the Board of Directors and the membership and within membership. Such interaction can help to maintain a healthy stability for the organization.

OACE must continue to be an initiator of the regional/local council movement. By encouraging the formation of local/regional councils, the Association is better able to be in touch with grass-roots issues. OACE recognizes the importance of the grass-roots connection; real issues surface from concerned committed volunteers. Through this process, the social movement of lifelong learning advances. Though issues may arise out of a regional impetus, the issue may have a widespread pertinence. The affiliation of local councils with OACE through council representation to the OACE Board of Directors provides the hierarchial pathway for attention and supportive action of issues at the provincial level.

To be an effective educational association of the 1980s, OACE must contribute to not only the social movement but also to the professionalization of the field. The advancement of the social movement has been addressed. The professionalization of the field requires contributions to research and professional training. Currently to fill this obligation, OACE combines a one-day professional development day with its one-day conference and annual meeting. The Association must continue to conduct research in the field or provide special training programs to be totally in tune with the adult education movement of the 1980s.

OACE has been a leader in the recognition of achievement in the lifelong learning movement. The Norman High Award is a splendid means of publicly honouring those innovative thinkers who blaze new trails in learning techniques, methods and oportunities. Award recipients are pioneers in a relatively young discipline. Through their selection, the adult education field is made aware of worthy role models and mentors. OACE should continue its search for these success stories.

The past twenty years have seen an amazing act of survival. Membership and funding within OACE have never had a tremendous increase and despite the augmented costs of overhead and the effects of inflation, OACE has remained in place. It has survived even though it has been vulnerable to the ebb and flow of volunteer energy, to varying degrees of public support through membership, to the funding capacities of the grant agency and to the variable leadership priorities. One can only assume that a very persistent commitment prevails among adult educators in Ontario to allow this presence. The periodic instability of the Association probably served to strengthen that commitment. With twenty years of solidarity facing challenges and coping, OACE has grown to be an inherent force in adult education in Ontario. OACE has matured to the point where it is now careful in its approaches, financially realistic, and wise enough to avoid the crises of the past. The significance of decisions will reveal itself only with the passage of time. History depends on tomorrow.

Further information may be obtained by contacting the OACE offices at 175 St. Clair Avenue W., Room 24, Toronto, Ontario, M4V 1P7, or by contacting the author at 2203 Madden Blvd., Oakville, Ontario, L6H 3M3.

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THE NATURE OF POLICY-MAKING
IN ADULT EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

William H. Taylor, Ph.D

presented at
CASAE
Hamilton, 1987

INTRODUCTION

This paper is about organizational policy. It is concerned with what organizations do and why they do it. More specifically, it is about what adult education organizations do and why they do it. We are concerned with the interaction of four major organizational factors -- the environment of the organization, its operations, its programs and its policy.

The paper will first outline a conceptual model of the policy process, it will examine a case study and will finally draw some conclusions about how our organizations operate.

THE NATURE OF ORGANIZATIONAL POLICY

Policy can be defined in many ways, but for the purposes of this paper we have adopted a simple definition from the field of public policy. "Policy is whatever [organizations] choose to do or not to do". (Dye p.3) Adult education organizations must make many choices. Who shall we serve? What programs will we deliver? What fees will we charge? Who will be our instructors? And many more. The way these choices are made and translated into program activities is a reflection of the organization's policy. How then do we determine what the policy of an organization is? There are at least two approaches -- we can examine the formal policy statements of the organization or we can analyse the operations of the organization or we can do both.

The Analysis of the organization's policy statements will reveal the formal or explicit policy. This is often viewed as the master plan or blueprint which will guide the operational activities of the organization. These policy statements should incorporate the goals of the organization and should serve as a means of guiding the choices that must be made in selecting or rejecting organizational activities. A basis for the establishment of formal policy should be the interpretation of the organization's environment. Since a major purpose of the adult education organization is to serve the needs of the members of the community, the interpretation or assessment of these needs should have a major impact on the determination of policy. In addition, the environment provides the constraints within which the organization operates. In the case of adult education organizations these may be constraints identified in the mandate provided by the larger institution (e.g. the University) or the financial constraints imposed by the government.

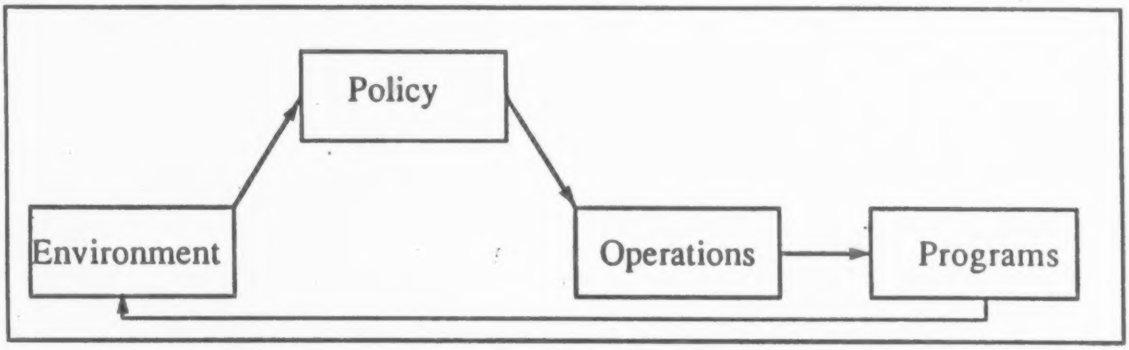

Figure 1: Policy as a determinant of Programs

Figure 1 shows that the environmental conditions influence the formal policy which in turn influences or directs the operations of the organization. These operations produce programs which in turn have an impact on the environment which starts the cycle in motion again. This classic view of policy as a determinant of the operational activities conforms closely to the rational model of program planning that has been proposed for adult educators. Both models (policy development and program development) rely on an accurate and continuous monitoring of the environment, the incorporation of the resultant data into a plan, and the operationalizing of the plan. This view of policy and policy development assumes that there will be congruence between the policy and operations and that policy will respond to environmental changes. It is heavily dependant upon the ability of the policy-makers to scan the environment and translate environmental changes into new program directions. It also assumes that the policy-makers have sufficient control over the operational processes of the organization that they can enforce confirmity with stated policy.

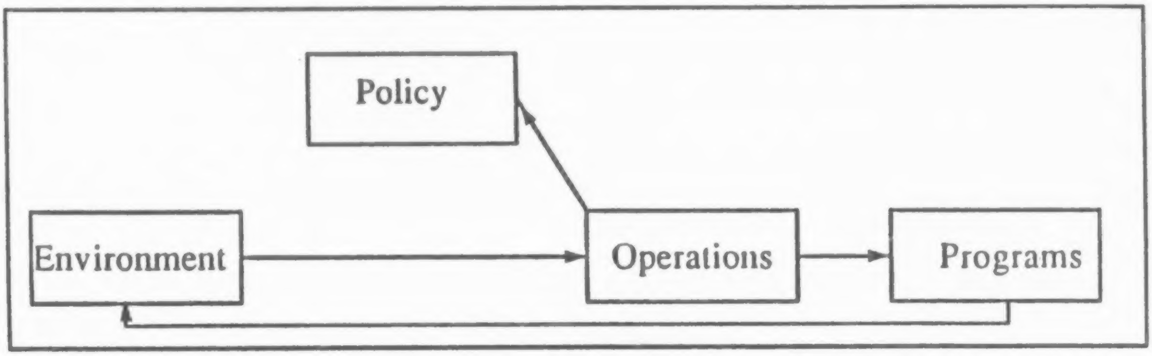

Figure 2: Policy as a reflection of Programs

An alternate view of policy development (Figure 2) sees policy as a reflection of operational activities. Those organizational members responsible for the operations respond to environmental stimuli within their own sphere of influence and these responses in turn are reflected in the formal statement of the organization's policy. Consequently, the formal policy statements are more a reiteration of what the organization does and not a guide for future action. In this model the operational personnel are assumed to have the closest contact with the environment and are in the best position to respond. They do respond but only within their own area of responsibility. The aggregate of the programming activities is then reflected in the organization's overall policy statements.

Although these two views of policy formation begin from very difficult perspectives of the way organizations work, they are not mutually exclusive. It is quite possible to imagine a situation where the formal policy statements serve as a guide to future action (particularly by establishing constraints) and at the same time reflect the more or less independent activities undertaken by the programming areas. The degree to which this combination is possible depends to some extent on the degree of differentiation and integration that exist in the organization. An organization is said to be highly differentiated if there are many autonomous units which are able to pursue independent tasks. This type of organization could be very effective in a dynamic, highly differentiated environment. A highly differentiate organization can more quickly respond to environmental changes, rather than having to wait until the whole organization approves a change in programming. This situation is often seen in adult education organizations where programming responsibilities are divided up according to identifiable audiences within the community. Each individual programmer then has the authority and flexibility to respond to new demands. To the extent that this differentiation exists the policy statements will likely follow organizational activities rather than lead them.

In the same organization, however, there must exist integrating mechanisms. For the highly differentiated organization to be effective, there must be a concomitantly high level of integration. This integration can occur through such mechanisms as committees, councils, weekly meetings, and policy statements. In this case, the policy statement must set the boundaries within which individual programmers can operate but must still permit independent action.

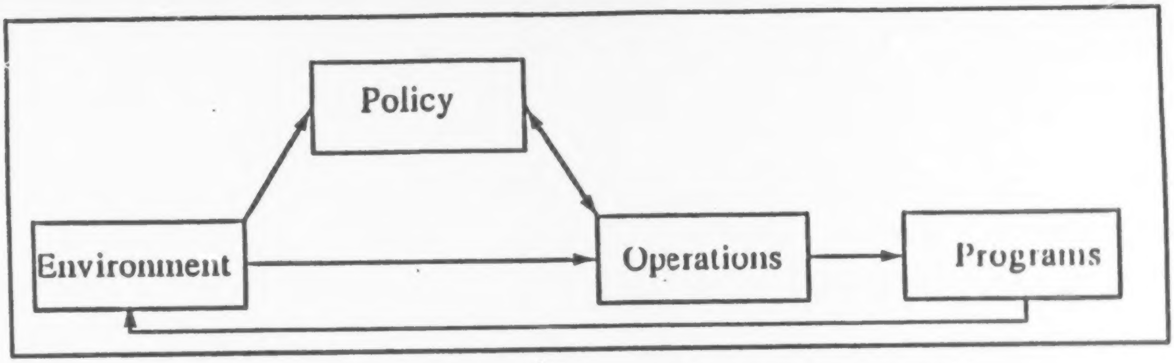

Figure 3: Policy as a determinant and reflection of Programs

Figure 3 reflects how the four elements (enironment, operation, and policy) are interrelated in an organization. This may be a better representation of how most organizations work, although it is possible to imagine organizations adopting one model to the virtual exclusion of the other.

A variation of the models outlined above exists when an organization has no formal policy statements. (Figure 4) In this case the organization operates with a set of implicit policies which are imbedded in the operational processes and activities of the organization. To be effective these organizations must rely heavily upon the commitment of individuals to a set of common goals or values for the organization. There must be a high degree of informal communication and co-operation to insure that the various differentiated units are effectively sharing resources and not competing to serve the same needs in the community.

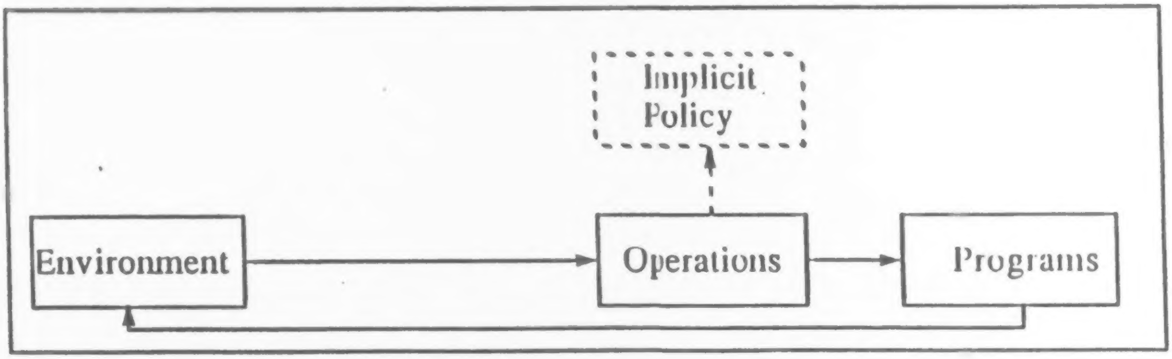

Figure 4:The absence of Formal Policy

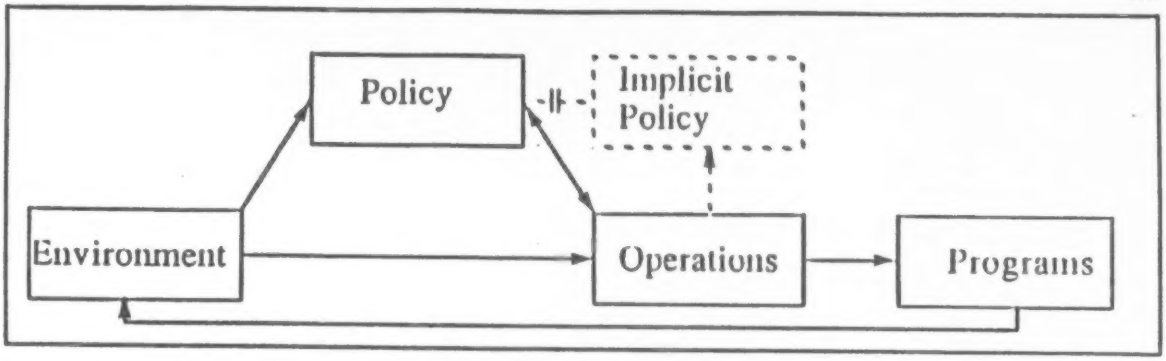

Figure 5: A contradiction between Formal and Implicit Policy

A final variation of the model (Figure 5) occurs when there is a contradiction between the formal policy statements and the implicit policy as reflected in the activities of the organization. This could occur when an adult education organization professes (through its policy statements) to serve a particular segment of the community but in fact is not serving that segment. Or conversely, they say they are not serving one segment but in fact they are. How could such a situation develop? Are the managers being deceptive? Are the programmers deliberately contravening organizational policy? Probably neither situation applies. When a organization adopts policy as a determinant of operations (Figure 1) there may be a breakdown in the communication of policy to the operational level or there may be difficulty in translating policy into deliverable programs. In the case where policy is a reflection of operations there is always a lag period when the formal policy is behind the implicit policy. In times of rapid change this lag may become extended and the two types of policy are conspicuously inconsistent. Nevertheless, although there may be many understandable reasons why the situation develops, it can create confusion and ineffectiveness within the organization.

In this section a number of alternate ways of viewing policy in adult education organizations were briefly explored. It was asserted that policy can be a determent of future activity or a reflection of past activity. It can be formally stated or can be implicit in the program of the organization. There can also be a contradiction between the formal policy statements and the policy as reflected in the organization's activities. In the following sections a university adult education organization will be examined to determine which of the models was operational over a five year time period.

THE ORGANIZATION (OPERATIONS)

The University of Calgary's Faculty of Continuing Education has the mandate to deliver virtually all of the University's non-degree programs. Continuing Education has been in existence for some 22 years, first as a division and then as a faculty in 1977. The current staff component is 70 of which some 18 are academic faculty. Each faculty member assumes an area of programming based on a discipline specialization and/or a community audience. In addition, program specialists (without faculty rank) are responsible for program areas. The programmers are assisted by secretarial and clerical staff and by a number of support units such as a conference office and a marketing unit.

The time period studied was from the 1982-83 to 1986-87 fiscal year. During this period the staff component did not change substantially in total numbers although there was, of course, some staff turnover. During the first year of the study there was a change in leadership when a new dean was appointed.

There is a fairly simple organizational structure with two Associate Deans reporting to the Dean. The service units also report to the Associate Deans with the exception of the accounting unit and the Office Manager who reports directly to the Dean. This structure was only slightly different in the first year under the former dean.

The Faculty has a very broad mandate. It has responsibility for off-campus and Spring and Summer degree programs as well as distance education. Faculty members are expected to conduct research and get involved in other scholarly activities such as a graduate program in adult education offered jointly with the Faculty of Education. The Conference Office provides assistance to outside organizations on a fee-for-service basis. The major activity, however, is the non-credit or extension program and this was the focus of the study.

POLICY (What do we say we do?)

Within the non-credit program the faculty is driven by a combination of market and supply-side factors. Since the organization is said to be a "bridge" to the community, there must be an attempt to offer programs based on the particular interest and expertise of faculty members across the University. However, there is also a recognition of the responsibility to meet the needs of the community even in the instances where there is no corresponding resource (i.e.no faculty/department with an interest or expertise) within the University. It has become the programmer's major responsibility to match institutional resources with community demands within his/her assigned program responsibility. What formal guidance does the programmer receive when making the choices about what to offer and what not to offer? The written documents providing such guidance would constitute the formal policy of the organization.

In fact, very little formal policy exists, and what is available is couched in such broad terms as to be virtually useless in making choices among alternate programs. Following is an excerpt from the Faculty's mission statement:

> The Faculty of Continuing Education sees all of society as its potential clientele. In its attempt to satisfy learning needs, the Faculty consults, co-operates and collaborates with appropriate individuals, groups and organization, and applies its special expertise to the design and presentation of learning opportunities.

If guidance is not found in such public documents one must look to other sources of formal policy. The budget of an organization often reflects or incorporates the organization's plan for at least a one year period. The allocation of funding among program areas is clear guidance as to the acceptable magnitude of their programs. An examination of the budget and the budgetting process does not, however, show this to be the case. The Faculty does not have individual budgets for each program area but rather, has a global budget administered directly by the Dean and Management Committee.Individual programmers budget on a course-by-course basis only, with no formal knowledge of an annual budget for their program area.

How then, are the program decisions made? The answer appears to lie, at least partly, in the selection and assignment of personnel. At the time a position becomes vacant an opportunity exists to redirect the efforts of one programming person. This allocation decision is usually taken by the Dean in consultation with the Management Committee and therefore represents the policy of the organization as formulated by the senior management. Other opportunities exist on a continuous basis as the roles and responsibilities of programmers are renegotiated. Individual programmers may seek to broaden, narrow. or completely change their mandates and will do so through negotiations with the Dean or Associate Dean. However, because of the high level of autonomy each programmer enjoys this is a very limited mechanism for responding to environmental changes. Programmers can quite effectively thwart a change imposed by their superiors in the organization. There must be mutual recognition of the need for redirecting the programming effort if a new program is to succeed. Consequently, most new programs are initiated by the programmers with subsequent consultation and authorization by management.

In summary, the programming policies of the organization are not formal--they cannot be found in formally approved documents of the organization. Rather, the policies are implicit and can only be revealed by an examination of the total programming effort of the faculty. That total program is the aggregation of a great many decisions made by many programmers over a period of time. in the next section, we will look at the impact of these individual decisions over a five year period.

THE PROGRAM (What do we do?)

In this section we examine the program mix of the faculty over the five year period from 1981-82 to 1985-86. Appendix A shows the number of programs (courses, seminars, etc.) and the number of enrollees in each program area. In addition, figures are included to indicate the percentage change from year-to-year in each area plus the percent each program area contributes to that year's total enrollment. The data indicate a fairly small change in total enrollment between the first and last years with some significant variation from year-to-year (12.8% increase from 1981-82 to 1982-83). However, a more detailed examination reveals significant annual changes within individual program areas. Although some changes were relatively minor in absolute terms there are many instances where the changes in enrollment are major between years.

The overall picture painted by the data appears to be one of a complex and diverse adult education program that changes quite drastically over short periods of time. Many of these changes occur within individual program areas and are not reflected in the aggregate data. In other words, we see a number of compensating changes occuring from year to year. Some areas would have large increases in programs and enrollments while others would have decreases.

The program serves a wide variety of community audiences from the general public to many specialized professional groups. The program also reflects the diversity of the total university program which includes some sixteen Faculties and numerous specializations within Faculties. The perception that the Faculty and its program are held in high esteem by both the University and the community was strengthened recently when a formal evaluation was undertaken by a committee struck by the senior administration. The evaluation of the committee reconfirmed the Faculty's mandate and endorsed its current programming activities.

While time and space do not permit a detailed analysis or description of these variations, the reader is invited to examine the data in detail and to note the trends as indicated in figure 6. This graph indicates the trends for the major program areas over the past ten years. Over that period the trends could be interpreted as:

1) a gradual and steady increase in the number of Certificate students,

2) a long term (although erratic) increase in professional development programs,

3) a rise in general interest programs until 1982-83 followed by a major decline,

4) a gradual increase in programs for outside professional

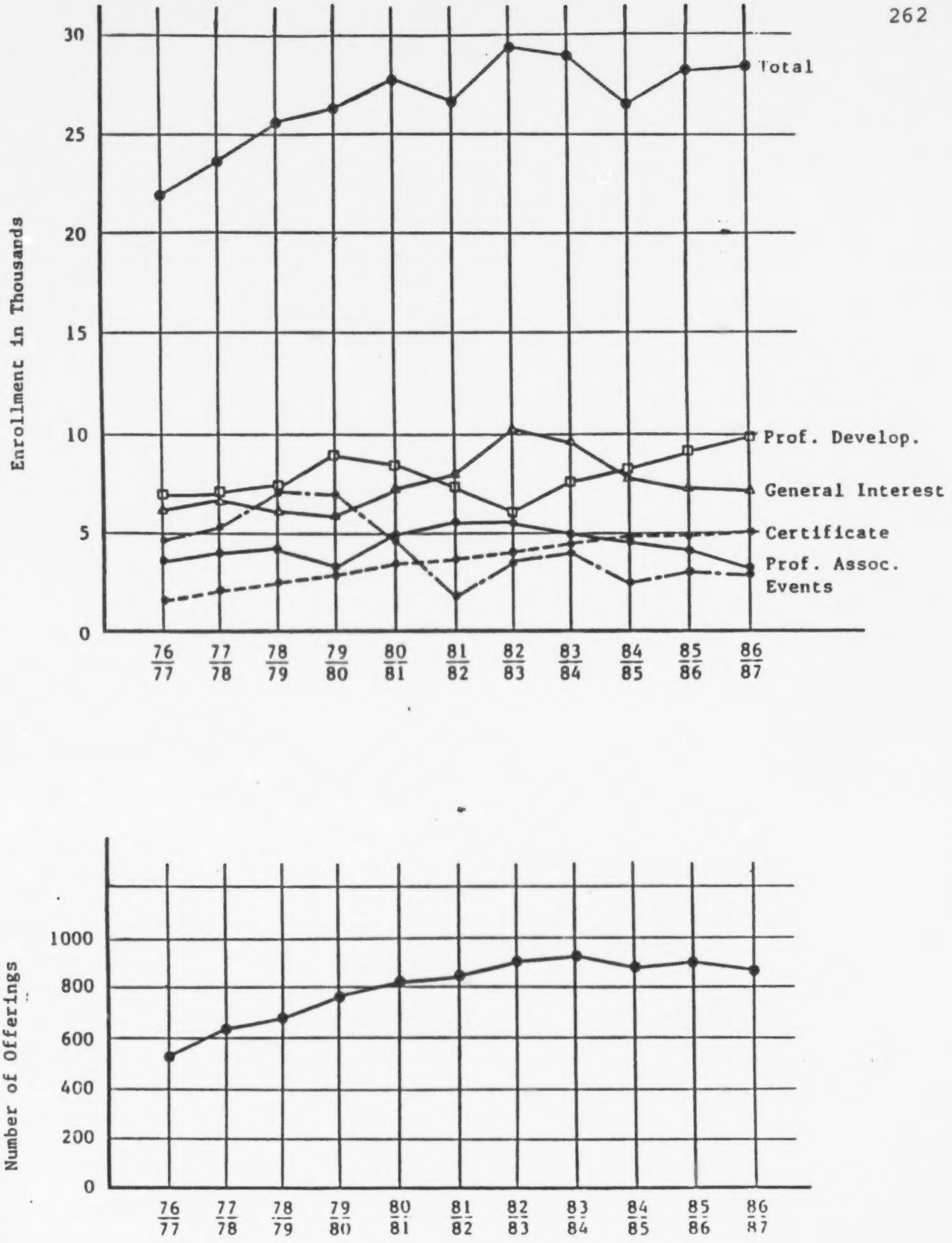
Enrollment in Thousands
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Total
Prof. Develop.
General Interest
Certificate
Prof. Assoc.
Events
76/77
77/78
78/79
79/80
80/81
81/82
82/83
83/84
84/85
85/86
86/87
Number of Offerings
1000
800
600
400
200
0
76/77
77/78
78/79
79/80
80/81
81/82
82/83
83/84
84/85
85/86
86/87

FIGURE 6

associations until 1981-82 followed by a gradual and persistent decline, and

5) a decline in public affairs (events) programming after a high in 1978-79.

In the next section we will attempt to identify the underlying causes for the program trends noted above. The model described earlier suggests that the causes will be found in the environment, the formal policy statements or in the operating system.

WHY WE DO WHAT WE DO!

In seeking to explain the program trends over the five year period we can first consider the environment. The environment can be conceived at two levels. The first is the institutional level which includes all components of the University not included within the Faculty of Continuing Education. The second is the community level which encompasses all those economic, political, and societal elements which have an impact on the institution. At the institutional level the major influencing feature was a reduction in the level of funding for Continuing Education. Figure 7 shows the significant decline in the funds provided by The University to supplement the revenue derived from

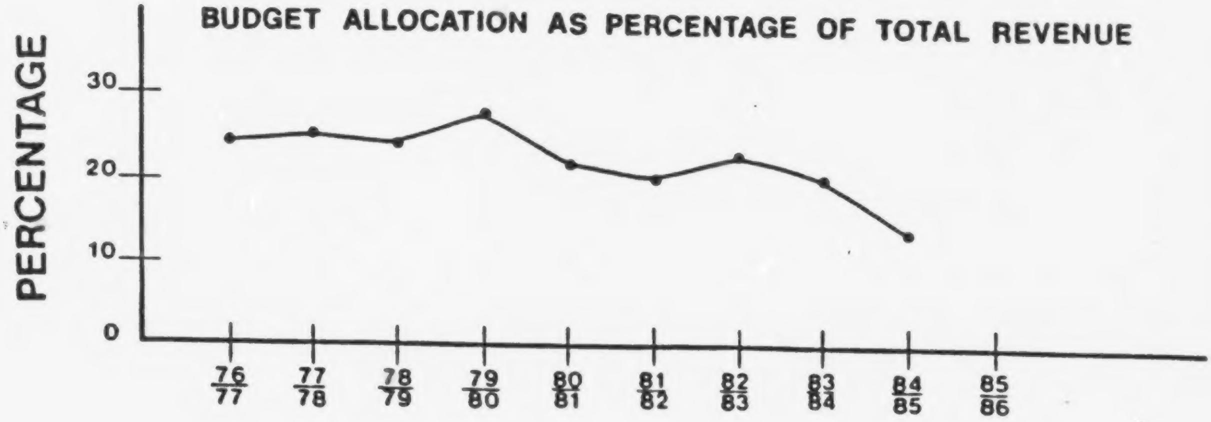

FIGURE 7

student fee revenue. Other, more minor changes, could also be noted in the institutional environment. For example, a change in the deanship in one faculty (Social Welfare) resulted in a noticeable drop in enrollment since the new dean would not support the program as it had been operated. While there undoubtedly are many other relatively minor incidents in the environment that may explain minor program changes, the scope of the study did not permit their examination. In the larger environment, the major occurance was an economic recession in the petroleum industry that began in 1981. The impact of this economic decline is difficult to assess. On the one hand companies react to restricted cash flows by reducing their training budgets. However, on the other hand, individuals are often more motivated to pursue studies that will either secure their current positions or give them more transferable skills. Consequently, they may choose to enroll in professional education in greater numbers. The net effect is often a balance of conflicting enrollment pressures with very little change in the totals.

In addition to the environment, the program is influenced by the formal policy and the operating system. In a previous section it was indicated that the formal policies of the organization generally do not give specific direction to the programmers when they make program decisions. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the operating system of the organization to get more explanation for the program. Since the operating system was discussed in some detail earlier, it will be only briefly summarized here. The operating system includes those people and activities which put the program into operation. In this particular organization the programming staff work very independently within a mandate which is negotiated with the Dean and his management committee. Individual programmers initiate programs, drop programs and largely determine the degree of effort and support that each program receives. Since each programmers' time and energy are finite there is a constant rearranging of programs as their interests and sense of community needs change.

Another important aspect of the operation is its leadership. The deans of the Faculty during this time had a strong commitment to the maintenance of a diverse program mix. Although the pressure is usually present to increase the emphasis on continuing professional education is order to generate more revenue, there appeared to be deliberate efforts (particularly in the assignment of new staff) to maintain the programming efforts in such areas as public affairs, general interest and public service programs. However, even with such a commitment the program trends appear to indicate a shift toward one type of programming at the expense of another.

In the final part of this section we will examine the trends in the five major program areas to determine what factors in the environment, the formal policy, or the operating system effected the major program decisions.

1) A gradual and steady increase in the number of certificate students. Two factors may be responsible for this trend. The first was increased student demand as a result of the increase in the perceived importance of certificates and credentials in the workplace. The economic recession in the environment may have helped to create such perceptions and the Faculty was able to capitalize on the increasing demand. The second factor is more a part of the operating system than

the organizational environment. When demand began to increase, modest increases in the resources base for the program were added. Most of this increase was in the support functions, although some additional programming staff were added. These additional staff allowed the program to better keep pace with demand and consequently increase the student fee revenue considerably. In light of the decreasing insitutional financial support, increased fee revenue became an important factor.

2) Long term and erractic increase in professional development programs. The long term nature of the increase probably reflects the movement of the whole university toward increased emphasis on professional education. Professional faculties appear to be regularly gaining in size and importance both in terms of enrollment and percentage of total expenditure. Consequently, they make additional demands on Continuing Education to provide programs for professionals in the community. Another factor contributing to the long term growth is probably the recognition that professional programs tend to generate more net revenue than do general interest programs. There is therefore an incentive for programmers to shift their efforts (within limits) toward professional development programs. The erractic nature of the trend may be related to the availability and interests of the programmers. A programmer going on a leave of absence may well change the mix before, during, or after the period away. With a fairly small programming staff this can make a significant impression in the total programming mix.

3) A rise in general interest programs until 1982-83 followed by a sharp decline. General interest programs peaked in 1982-83 when the

University's grant to Continuing Education was at its peak. It then dropped along with the University's contribution. This appears to be the classic budgetting move of cutting your "financial losses" when the going gets tough, although there was no formal policy statement directing the Faculty to pursue such a course. When the financial belt got tightened, decisions were made (often by individual programmers) to raise fees. A rise in fees may result in a declining demand and lower enrollment. Programmers could then devote more effort to areas with greater revenue potential and greater apparent demand.

4) An increase in outside professional associations programs until 1981-82 followed by a gradual and persistent decline. The reasons for this trend were largely outside of the control of the organization. Two factors from the environment were responsible. First, the demand for such programs as the two accounting designation (CGA, CMA) declined along with the economy beginning in 1981-82. Since students in such programs tend to rely upon their organization's sponsorship, there appears to be a direct link to the state of the economy. The second factor was a policy decision by the two accounting organizations to rely more heavily upon full-time college-based programs to meet their needs. This redirects demand from the University-based programs.

5) Decline in public affairs programming after a high in 1978-79. After the peak in this "non-profit" programming areas there was a reassignment of programmers resulting in fewer programs. The public affairs Program did not increase after 1981-82 because of the financial "squeeze" put on the faculty.

In this section we briefly re-examined the potential determinents of changes in the program of the organization. We then examined five major enrollment trends and attempted to attach specific reasons to each of the trends. The final section of the paper will draw some implication for the study of continuing or adult education organization.

DISCUSSION

A number of tentative conclusions can be drawn from this brief and somewhat superficial examinat of policy-making.

1) the real policy of an organization is often embedded in their programs and not reflected in formal policy statements

2) the absence of formal policy does not restrict an organization from meeting its goals or the needs of the community. However, such a lack of formal policy probably places increased importance on the need for other integrating mechanisms within the organization.

3. the program will respond to changes in its environment but primarily through those who are most in touch with the environment on a continuing basis (in this case the programmers). In other words, it is the operating system that senses environmental changes and intiates responses.

4. in a highly differentiated system (such as the one studied) there will be constant changes, many of which will offset others. These minor changes will not be recognizable if one only examines the data for the total program.

The final, general conclusion is that when studying our continuing/adult education organizations, we should recognize that several models of macro organizational behaviour are possible. We should not immediately adopt the conventional rational model represented in Figure 1. This conventional model may in many cases be a normative rather than a descriptive model which may add very little to our understanding of the nature of policy making in our adult education organizations.

UofC Continuing Education
Non-credit Enrollment Trends 1981/82 to 1985/86

	81/82			82/83				83/84				84/85				85/86			
	CRSE	ENROL	% TOT	CRSE	ENROL	% CHG	% TOT	CRSE	ENROL	% CHG	% TOT	CRSE	ENROL	% CHG	% TOT	CRSE	ENROL	% CHG	% TOT
PROF DEVEL																			
CERT	104	3300	12.5	117	3628	9.9	12.2	129	3952	8.9	13.9	144	4443	12.4	16.9	156	4524	1.8	16.24
ASSOC	141	5322	20.2	160	5650	6.1	19.0	145	4890	-13.4	17.2	125	4340	-11.2	16.5	108	3640	-16.1	13.06
EDUC	3	633	2.4	7	258	-59.2	0.8	5	529	105.0	1.8	3	144	-72.7	0.5	2	165	14.5	0.59
ENG	21	786	2.9	21	558	-29.0	1.8	16	642	15.0	2.2	22	743	15.7	2.8	19	1011	36.0	3.62
EVDS	12	772	2.9	18	724	-6.2	2.4	11	306	-57.7	1.0	2	23	-92.4	!n!	2	57	147.8	0.20
FINE ART	27	370	1.4	28	524	41.6	1.7	39	1020	94.6	3.6	24	531	-47.9	2.0	33	892	67.9	3.20
LAW	27	1948	7.3	17	1463	-24.8	4.9	19	1238	-15.3	4.3	26	1578	27.4	6.0	23	1494	-5.3	5.36
MGMT	33	1131	4.2	38	1142	0.9	3.8	78	2088	82.8	7.3	77	2286	9.4	8.7	87	2728	19.3	9.79
NURSING	20	646	2.4	20	676	4.6	2.2	29	1060	56.8	3.7	27	1050	-0.9	4.0	37	1914	82.2	6.87
PHYS ED	27	551	2.0	20	383	-30.4	1.2	6	47	-87.7	0.1	15	200	325.5	0.7	8	62	-69.0	0.22
SOCIAL W	13	315	1.1	10	568	80.3	1.9	12	184	-67.6	0.6	4	53	-71.1	0.2	4	222	318.8	0.79
AGRI	15	737	2.7	25	1018	38.1	3.4	17	397	-61.0	1.4	11	262	-34.0	1.0	5	153	-41.6	0.54
DIETICIA	12	229	0.8	2	114	-50.2	0.3	2	45	-60.5	0.1	7	98	117.7	0.3	6	77	-21.4	0.27
PHISIO	11	431	1.6	25	744	72.6	2.5	23	722	-2.9	2.5	29	785	8.7	2.9	19	617	-21.4	2.21
HOME EC	1	27	0.1	1	20	-25.9	!n!	0	0	-100.0	0.0	0	0	?n?	0.0	0	0	?n?	0.00
ADULT ED	10	190	0.7	22	392	106.3	1.3	19	335	-14.5	1.1	23	464	38.5	1.7	17	336	-27.5	1.20
SUBTOTAL	477	17388	66.0	531	17862	2.7	60.0	550	17455	-2.2	61.7	539	17000	-2.6	64.9	526	17892	5.2	64.23
PERSONAL DEV																			
HUMANITI	66	1238	4.7	62	1081	-12.6	3.6	51	1408	30.2	4.9	50	1132	-19.6	4.3	48	899	-20.5	3.22
SCIENCES	55	1336	5.0	79	1840	37.7	6.1	99	2265	23.0	8.0	59	1967	-13.1	7.5	93	1818	-7.5	6.52
SOCIAL S	15	273	1.0	23	461	68.8	1.5	15	357	-22.5	1.2	21	557	56.0	2.1	21	453	-18.6	1.62
TRAVEL	9	175	0.6	9	173	-1.1	0.5	9	171	-1.1	0.6	3	74	-56.7	0.2	6	164	121.6	0.58
ESL	4	117*	0.4	10	278	137.6	0.9	8	153	-44.9	0.5	7	142	-7.1	0.5	7	219	54.2	0.78
FRENCH	32	424	1.6	23	310	-26.8	1.0	25	295	-4.8	1.0	18	345	16.9	1.3	27	373	8.1	1.33
FAMILY L	2	48	0.1	4	71	47.9	0.2	3	41	-42.2	0.1	3	56	36.5	0.2	1	22	-60.7	0.07
PER GROW	33	682	2.5	24	1120	64.2	3.7	26	513	-54.1	1.8	26	497	-3.1	1.8	26	500	0.6	1.79
WOMEN	32	980	3.7	55	2242	128.7	7.5	44	839	-62.5	2.9	27	526	-37.3	2.0	24	415	-21.1	1.48
SENIORS	54	1445	5.4	39	834	-42.2	2.8	40	1249	49.7	4.4	41	1514	21.2	5.7	53	1747	15.3	6.27
PUBLIC S	45	2220	8.4	47	3450	55.4	11.6	41	3524	2.1	12.4	47	2360	-33.0	9.0	60	3354	42.1	12.04
MISCELL	0	0		0	0			18	556	?n?	1.9	15	408	-26.6	1.5	10	311	-23.7	1.11
SUBTOTAL	347	8938	33.9	375	11860	32.6	39.9	361	10815	-8.8	38.2	302	9170	-15.2	35.0	366	9964	8.6	35.76
TOTAL	824	26326	100.0	906	29722	12.8	100.0	911	28270	-4.8	100.0	841	26170	-7.4	100.0	892	27856	6.4	100.00

APPENDIX A

L'état du champ d'étude universitaire de l'éducation des adultes

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6. Contours des contenus du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes

Pour déterminer les contours des contenus du champs d'étude de l'éducation des adultes nous disposons de données pertinentes fournies par quatre-vingt-une (81) universités réparties comme suit:[1]

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[1] Ces données nous sont présentées par le Répertoire de l'UNESCO, 1982.

- Royaume-Uni, 11 universités,
- Europe, 19 universités,
- Etats-Unis, 19 universités,
- Canada, 9 universités,
- Reste du monde, 23 universités.

Pour chaque université nous avons noté chacune des facettes de contenus représentées par le titre des différents cours offerts.[1] Nous obtenons ainsi un total de six cent cinquante-quatre (654) énoncés pour une moyenne de 8.07 énoncés par université.

Avec une dispersion qui va d'un énoncé à vingt énoncés par université, la distribution s'établit ainsi:

- Royaume-Uni, 99 énoncés avec une moyenne de 9,
- Europe, 140 énoncés avec une moyenne de 7.37,
- Etats-Unis, 160 énoncés avec une moyenne de 8.42,
- Canada, 99 énoncés avec une moyenne de 11,
- Reste du monde, 156 énoncés avec une moyenne de 6.78.

Après analyse de contenus, ces énoncés furent regroupés en cinquante et un (51) items. Ces items à leur tour furent regroupés en treize (13) catégories.

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[1] Ont été exclues les activités éducatives individuelles (programmes de lecture, etc.), les internats et les séminaires de recherche. Ces cours sont généralement au programme.

Chaque item ou chaque item catégorie représente le contenu d'un cours ayant été défini comme faisant partie du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes par une ou par plusieurs universités.

Ces contenus furent définis dans le temps à partir d'abord essentiellement d'une analyse descriptive puis critique de la pratique à la fois locale et comparée, analyses réalisées en empruntant aux différentes sciences sociales et marquées au coin des valeurs, des idéologies, des cultures, des nécessités des différents milieux. Concoururent aussi à la définition de ces contenus des essais théoriques et des études à caractère fondamental.

De l'analyse de contenus et de la catégorisation se dégage une typologie qui illustre, croyons-nous, l'état des contours du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes.

Typologie des contenus du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes[1]

1- Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes (58)[2]

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[1] Telle que constituée à partir des programmes d'études (1982) de 81 universités de par le monde.

[2] Le nombre inscrit représente le nombre de fois que cet élément a été identifié. Ce nombre généralement représente aussi le nombre d'universités ayant inscrit cet élément à leurs programmes. Dans quelques cas seulement, une même université peut avoir deux ou trois cours différents portant sur le même contenu. Ceci se produit surtout pour la nature de l'éducation des adultes, pour l'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes et pour le développement communautaire.

2- Théories, recherches, problèmes et tendances de l'éducation des adultes

- Principe de l'éducation des adultes (25) ou de l'andragogie (13),
- Recherches en éducation des adultes (méthodes et résultats) (16),
- Problèmes et tendances en éducation des adultes (12).

3- Orientations de l'éducation des adultes

- Histoire de l'éducation des adultes (21),
- Education des adultes ou andragogie comparée (25),
- Fondements de l'éducation des adultes (10),
- Politiques de l'éducation des adultes (4),
- Orientations philosophiques de l'éducation des adultes (13),

4- La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes (38)

5- L'apprenant et l'apprentissage adulte

- L'apprenant adulte (37),
- l'apprentissage adulte (39).

6- L'éducateur d'adultes (22)

7- L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes (58)

8- L'instrumentation de l'éducation des adultes

- Techniques et méthodes de l'éducation des adultes (55),
- Les techniques de groupe en éducation des adultes (16),
- La créativité en éducation des adultes (2),
- Les sessions en éducation des adultes (1),
- L'éducation des adultes récurente (1),
- Les centres résidentiels (1),

- L'architecture de l'éducation des adultes (1).

9- L'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes (39)

10- L'éducation des adultes et le changement social (37)

11- Des domaines d'intervention en éducation des adultes

- L'alphabétisation (21),
- L'extension agricole (12),
- L'éducation des adultes à distance et les mass-médias (10),
- L'éducation des adultes et le monde du travail (7),
- L'éducation des adultes non formelle (6),
- L'éducation des adultes familiale (5),
- L'éducation des adultes post-secondaire (4),
- L'éducation des adultes et le milieu carcéral (3),
- L'éducation des adultes et les loisirs (3),
- L'éducation des adultes internationale (3),
- L'éducation des adultes générale (libéral - arts) (2),
- L'éducation continue des professionnels (1),
- L'éducation des adultes et les carrières (1),
- L'éducation des adultes et le développement des ressources humaines (1),
- L'éducation des adultes et le bien-être social (1),
- L'éducation religieuse des adultes (1),
- La formation politique des adultes (1).

12- Des clientèles particulières de l'éducation des adultes

- Les personnes du 3e âge (7),
- Les autodidactes (5),
- les jeunes adultes, chômeurs (4),

- Les désavantagés (3),
- Les travailleurs (2),
- Les handicapés (1),
- Les émigrants (1),
- Les marginaux (1),
- Les femmes (1).

13- Contenus particuliers en éducation des adultes

- Les langues secondes (3).

Voilà donc ce qui nous semble se dégager de l'analyse des cours offerts par les universités. Ce qui frappe c'est la cohérence de ce champ d'étude qui se construit.

Au départ, chaque université n'offre que quelques cours pertinents à l'essentiel du champ d'étude et par la suite, compte tenu du personnel et des besoins, les contenus se diversifient en approfondissant cependant les dimensions essentielles. Un des éléments caractéristiques de ce champ d'étude, c'est l'absence quasi totale des didactiques traditionnelles des autres champs d'étude du secteur de l'éducation.

Né de la dynamique de la vie associative, explicité par l'analyse critique et comparée de la réalité de l'éducation des adultes domaine de pratique sociale, éclairé par les orientations et la portée sociale du domaine, le champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes, dès son origine, a voulu comprendre le processus d'aide à l'apprentissage, apprentissage délibérement recherché par des adultes ou des collectivités d'adultes ayant pour objectifs des changements soit au niveau des connaissances, soit au niveau des habilités, soit au niveau des croyances, soit au niveau des valeurs; changements volontairement poursuivis dans le but d'assurer une meilleure maîtrise de la vie sociale. Sont donc essentiels à cette compréhension tous les facteurs qui en amont ou en aval définissent les caractéristiques des situations d'apprentissage.

C'est pourquoi ce champ d'étude est marqué au coin de la volonté et de la capacité de développer, en lui-même, d'une manière critique, ses fondements épistémologiques tenant compte de l'ensembles des acteurs, des situations et des formes d'apprentissage adulte.

C'est à cette tâche que se sont consacrés et se consacrent des femmes et des hommes qui, bien que différents par l'expérience, par la formation académique, par les valeurs, par les orientations idéologiques et par la culture, entendent orienter leur vie professionnelle à la compréhension du phénomène de l'éducation des adultes.

Cette compréhension se construit à partir de la collaboration des professeurs-chercheurs, des praticiens et des participants de l'éducation des adultes. L'objectif en définitive de cette compréhension est l'établissement d'une meilleure pratique.

Pour ce faire, certains de ces hommes et de ces femmes doivent abandonner la relative sécurité de leur domaine disciplinaire d'origine pour s'identifier à ce nouveau champ d'étude. Pour d'autres, l'identification s'est déjà réalisée dans la pratique et s'est approfondie par des études académiques dans ce champ d'étude.

Attachons-nous maintenant à une analyse plus attentive des éléments de cette typologie. Pour ce faire, nous tiendrons compte du pourcentage d'universités dans chacune des régions qui ont, par leurs programmes, attribué ces contenus particuliers au champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes.

Un premier groupe de huit contenus particuliers se distinguent car ceux-ci sont présents dans au moins 35% de l'ensemble des universités et dans 20% et plus des universités de chacune des cinq régions.[1]

Ces contenus sont par ordre d'importance:

- Les techniques et les méthodes en éducation des adultes (67%),
- L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes (54%),
- Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes (53%),
- L'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes (48%),
- L'apprenant adulte (46%),
- L'apprentissage adulte (43%),
- La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes (37%),
- L'éducation des adultes et le changement social (35%).

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[1] Cf. Annexe V

La portée sociale de l'éducation des adultes ressort clairement. La nature de l'éducation des adultes est affirmée et sera spécifiée plus en détail par la suite. La place de l'apprentissage adulte et de l'apprenant adulte est signifiée. La pratique de l'éducation des adultes soit au niveau du micro-environnement, soit au niveau du macro-environnement reçoit l'importance qui lui est due.

C'est autour de ces contenus particuliers que se construit le champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes.

Un second groupe de sept contenus particuliers marquent l'approfondissement du champ d'étude et sont présents dans 20% et plus de l'ensemble des universités et dans des universités des cinq régions.

Ces contenus sont par ordre d'importance:

- Les principes de l'éducation des adultes ou de l'andragogie (41%),
- L'éducation des adultes ou andragogie comparée (30%),
- L'histoire de l'éducation des adultes (27%),
- L'éducateur d'adultes (27%),
- L'alphabétisation (25%),
- Les techniques des groupes en éducation des adultes (20%).

Les assises épistémologiques du champ d'étude sont approfondies, les principes qui s'en dégagent sont évoqués, les rôles, fonctions, compétences de l'éducateur d'adultes reçoivent une attention particulière, et enfin l'importance de l'alphabétisation et des techniques de groupes est indiquée.

Un troisième groupe est constitué de quatre contenus particuliers qui se retrouvent dans au moins 10% de l'ensemble des universités et dans des universités de chacune des cinq régions.

Ces contenus sont par ordre d'importance:

- Les recherches en éducation des adultes (méthodes et résultats) (17%),
- Les orientations philosophiques de l'éducation des adultes (16%),
- L'extension agricole (14%),
- L'éducation des adultes à distance (12%).

La spécificité de la recherche en éducation des adultes est signifiée (67% des universités canadiennes), les fondements épistémologiques sont approfondis (27% des universités du Royaume-Uni et 22% des universités canadiennes) et l'extension agricole et l'éducation des adultes à distance se voient accorder l'importance qui leur revient.

Un quatrième groupe est constitué de deux contenus particuliers qui se retrouvent dans au moins 10% de l'ensemble des universités et dans des universités de quatre des cinq régions. Ce sont:
- Les problèmes et les tendances de l'éducation des adultes (15%),
- Les fondements de l'éducation des adultes (12%).

Est ici réaffirmée la capacité du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes de développer en lui-même, d'une manière critique, ses fondements épistémologiques. Au niveau de ce quatrième groupe se distinguent plus particulièrement les universités canadiennes.

Enfin, tous les autres contenus particuliers sont présents dans moins de 10% de l'ensemble des universités. Ils sont généralement offerts par les centres universitaires majeurs selon les disponibilités du corps professoral et les priorités des différents milieux. Ils concernent des domaines d'intervention ou des clientèles particulières.

Soulignons les contenus présents dans au moins 15% des universités d'une région:

- Les personnes du 3e âge,
- L'éducation des adultes et le monde du travail,
- Les autodidactes,
- L'éducation des adultes post-secondaire,
- L'éducation des adultes internationale.

Les politiques de l'éducation des adultes font aussi partie de ce groupe.

Ces contenus particuliers constituent des dimensions du champ d'étude qui connaissent un développement important.

Nous avons donc traité spécifiquement de vingt-sept des contenus particuliers. Vingt-quatre autres sont aussi attribués au champ d'étude par des universités. Tous appartiennent à ce champ, soulignons cependant dans cette catégorie:

- L'éducation des adultes non formelle (6 universités),
- L'éducation des parents et de la famille (5 universités),
- Les jeunes adultes chômeurs (4 universités).

Toutes les universités ne peuvent couvrir l'ensemble de ces contenus particuliers ou développer des enseignements nouveaux sur les différents aspects du champ d'étude. Cependant il est primordial que certaines universités demeurent des centres majeurs en accordant à ce champ d'étude tous les attributs traditionnels d'un champ d'étude et que d'autres universités acquièrent ces caractéristiques.

L'analyse qui précède démontre bien, par les faits, que l'éducation des adultes constitue un champ d'étude universitaire spécifique et qu'il est reconnu comme tel.

Après ce regard plus intime aux contenus particuliers, considérons maintenant, à l'aide du tableau qui suit, ce champ d'étude sous l'angle des catégories de contenus.

Tableau 6.1

Champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes: catégories de contenus
Répartition selon le pourcentage des universités
et selon les régions

Catégories de contenus	Régions					Total %
	R.U. %	E. %	E.U. %	CAN. %	R.M. %	
1- Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes	55	26	58	89	57	53
2- Théories, recherches, problèmes et tendances de l'éducation des adultes	55	58	47	78	61	58
3- Orientations de l'éducation des adultes	82	53	37	67	52	54
4- La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes	37	58	㉑	56	26	37
5- L'apprenant et l'apprentissage adulte	73	68	63	78	52	64
6- L'éducateur d'adultes	⑱	32	37	56	⑨	27
7- L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes	27	26	84	78	57	54
8- L'instrumentation de l'éducation des adultes	82	74	79	78	61	73
9- L'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes	28	32	63	33	65	48
10- L'éducation des adultes et le changement social	46	㉑	32	44	39	35
11- Des domaines d'intervention en éducation des adultes	64	42	63	67	43	53
12- Des clientèles particulières en éducation des adultes	⑨	26	37	44	⑨	24
13- Des contenus particuliers en éducation des adultes			11	11		4

Onze des treize catégories de contenus sont présentes dans les programmes de plus du quart de l'ensemble des universités.

Nous avions déjà signalé, lors de la présentation de la typlogie, la quasi absence des didactiques. Entre autres se confirme aussi le fait, déjà perceptible au niveau de l'analyse des contenus particuliers, que la tendance à traiter des clientèles particulières répondait à des exigences relevant de la composition et de la taille des corps professoraux ainsi que des priorités locales. L'implication des universités de deux régions est, à cet égard minime (Royaume-Uni et le Reste du monde), alors que celle des universités du Canada et des Etats-Unis est plus importante.

Les onze autres catégories se subdivisent en deux groupes.

Un premier groupe est constitué de huit catégories qui répondent aux caractéristiques suivantes: être attribuées au champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes par plus de 48% de l'ensemble des universités et par plus de 25% des universités de chacune des cinq régions.

Ces catégories sont:

- L'instrumentation de l'éducation des adultes (8),
- L'apprenant et l'apprentissage adulte (5),
- Les théories, les recherches, les problèmes et les tendances de l'éducateur d'adultes (2),
- Les orientation de l'éducation des adultes (3),

- L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes (7),
- La nature et le survol de l'éducation des adultes (1),
- Les domaines d'intervention en éducation des adultes (11),
- L'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation des adultes (9).

Un second groupe est constitué de trois catégories qui, bien que présentes dans les programmes de plus du quart de l'ensemble des universités, sont cependant retenues par moins de 25% des universités d'une région.

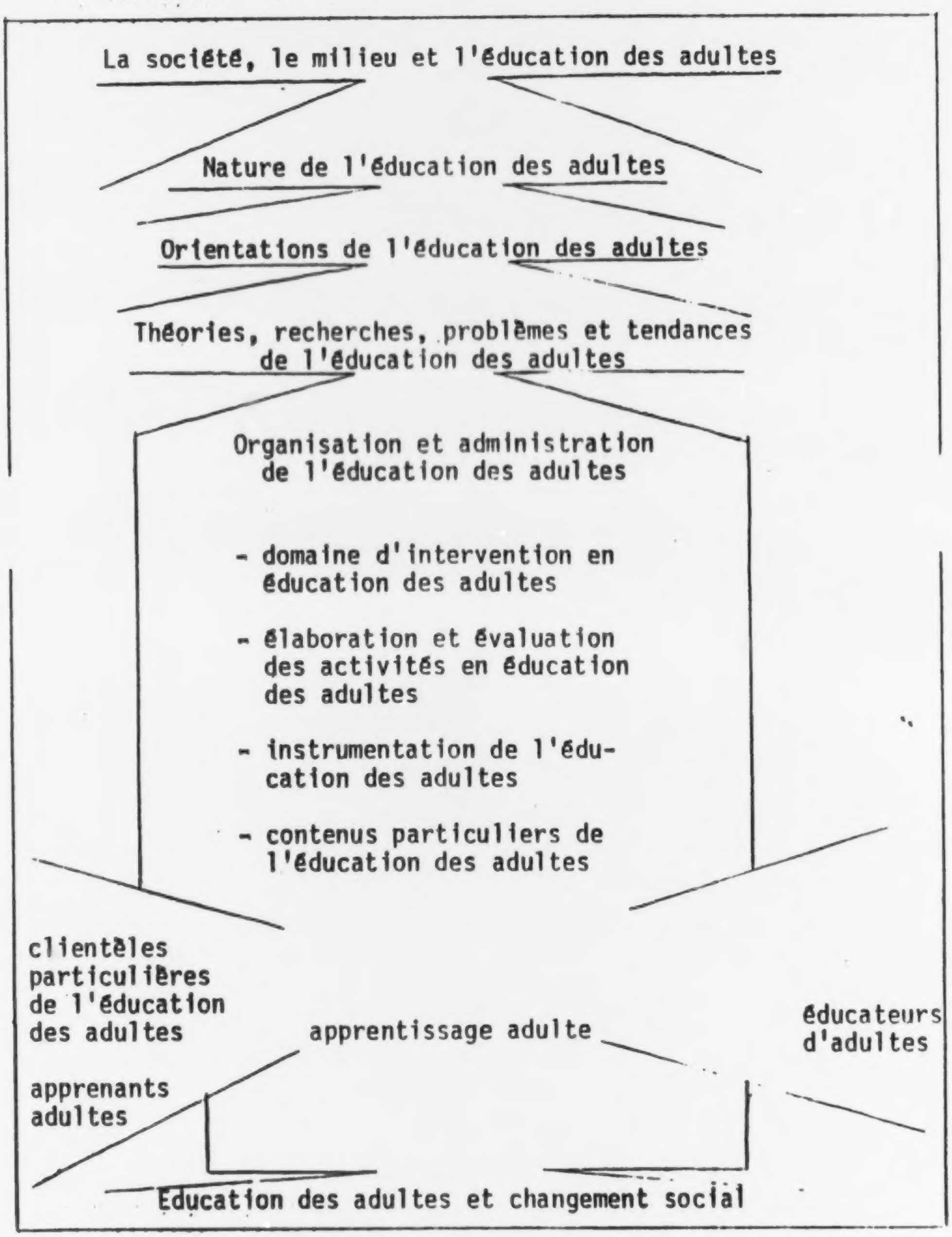
Il s'agit de:

- La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes (Etats-Unis = 21%), (4),
- L'éducation des adultes et le changement social (Europe = 21%), (10),
- L'éducateur d'adultes (Royaume-Uni = 18% et Reste du monde = 9%), (6).

Le champ d'étude universitaire de l'éducation des adultes constitue donc un ensemble cohérent qui, bien que marqué par les différences culturelles, démontre un haut niveau de convergence et de concordance. Dans le but de visualiser ce champ d'étude, à partir des treize catégories de contenus qui le composent, nous avons construit le diagramme suivant.

Diagramme

Le champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes



La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes

Nature de l'éducation des adultes

Orientations de l'éducation des adultes

Théories, recherches, problèmes et tendances de l'éducation des adultes

Organisation et administration de l'éducation des adultes

- domaine d'intervention en éducation des adultes
- élaboration et évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes
- instrumentation de l'éducation des adultes
- contenus particuliers de l'éducation des adultes

clientèles particulières de l'éducation des adultes

apprenants adultes

apprentissage adulte

éducateurs d'adultes

Education des adultes et changement social

La surface comprise à l'intérieur du cadre externe représente la société et le milieu. Ce cadre n'est pas complètement fermé car toute société est ouverte aux autres sociétés par lesquelles elle est influencée et qu'elle influence.

Le phénomène de l'éducation des adultes (ou andragogie) et le champ d'étude qui s'y rapporte sont à la fois tributaire de la société et facteurs influençant celle-ci.

Au coeur de ce phénomène et de ce champ d'étude se retrouve l'apprentissage adulte qui ne peut se comprendre qu'en tenant compte de tous les facteurs qui en amont et en aval l'expliquent et le colorent. La dynamique qui relie l'ensemble de ces facteurs n'est jamais refermée sur elle-même. C'est pourquoi n'apparaît aucune ligne fermée dans notre diagramme.

Les contours des contenus du champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes (ou andragogie) ont été élaborés à partir de l'enseignement des universités. Il nous est aussi possible de saisir, en 1982,[1] les tendances de la recherche poursuivie par les équipes professorales. Pour ce faire, nous disposons de l'identification des domaines de recherches pour soixante et onze (71) universités. Ces universités se répartissent ainsi:

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[1] Ces données nous sont fournies par le Répertoire de l'UNESCO de 1982.

Annexe V

Tableau 6.3

Champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes: contenus particuliers Répartition selon le pourcentage des universités et selon les régions

Contenus particuliers	Régions					Total %
	R.U. %	E. %	E.U. %	CAN. %	R.M. %	
Techniques et méthodes de l'éducation des adultes	73	58	79	67	61	67
L'élaboration et l'évaluation des activités en éducation des adultes	28	26	84	78	57	54
Nature et survol de l'éducation des adultes	55	26	58	89	57	53
Organisation et administration de l'éducation des adultes	28	32	63	33	65	48
L'apprenant adulte	37	58	32	57	48	46
L'apprentissage adulte	46	42	47	67	30	43
La société, le milieu et l'éducation des adultes	37	58	21	56	26	37
L'éducation des adultes et le changement social	46	21	32	44	39	35
Principes de l'éducation des adultes ou de l'andragogie	46	47	16	33	57	41
L'éducation des adultes ou l'andragogie comparée	37	47	5	44	26	30
Histoire de l'éducation des adultes	46	26	16	44	17	27
L'éducateur d'adultes	18	32	37	56	9	27

Tableau 6.3

Champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes: contenus particuliers

Répartition selon le pourcentage des universités

et selon les régions

(suite)

Contenus particuliers	Régions					Total %
	R.U. %	E. %	E.U. %	CAN. %	R.M. %	
L'alphabétisation	18	16	21	21	30	25
Les techniques de groupe en éducation des adultes	9	32	11	67	5	20
Recherches en éducation des adultes (méthodes et résultats)	18	5	16	67	9	17
Orientations philosophiques de l'éducation des adultes	27	16	11	22	13	16
L'extension agricole	9	5	26	22	9	14
L'éducation des adultes à distance et les mass médias	18	11	5	33	9	12
Problèmes et tendances en éducation des adultes		5	21	56	9	15
Fondements de l'éducation des adultes		5	21	33	9	12
L'éducation des adultes non formelle	9	5	11		9	7
L'éducation des adultes et le monde du travail	9	5	16		4	7
L'éducation des adultes familiale	9	5		11	9	6
Les jeunes adultes	9	11	5			5
Les désavantagés	9	5	5			4
Les personnes du 3ème âge			21	33		9

Tableau 6.3

Champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes: contenus particuliers
Répartition selon le pourcentage des universités
et selon les régions

(suite)

Contenus particuliers	Régions					Total %
	R.U. %	E. %	E.U. %	CAN. %	R.M. %	
Les autodidactes			16	22		6
Politiques de l'éducation des adultes	18	11				5
L'éducation des adultes post-secondaire	9		16			5
L'éducation des adultes et les loisirs		5	11			4
L'éducation des adultes et le milieu carcéral	9			11		3
L'éducation des adultes générale (libéral et arts)	9		5			3
L'éducation des adultes internationale		5		22		4
La créativité en éducation des adultes		5		11		3
L'éducation des adultes des travailleurs "workers education"	9				4	3
Les langues secondes			11	11		3

Tableau 6.3

Champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes: contenus particuliers Répartition selon le pourcentage des universités et selon les régions

(suite)

Les contenus particuliers suivants ont été attribués au champ d'étude de l'éducation des adultes dans une seule région.

1- Europe : Les sessions en éducation des adultes
- L'éducation des adultes récurrente
- Les centres résidentiels
- L'architecture de l'éducation des adultes
- L'éducation des adultes et le bien-être social
- L'éducation religieuse des adultes
- Les émigrants
- Les marginaux

2- Etats-Unis : L'éducation des adultes et les carrières
- L'éducation des adultes et le développement
- Les ressources humaines

3- Canada : La formation continue des professionnels
- L'éducation continue des femmes

4- Reste du monde: L'éducation des adultes des handicapés
- La formation politique des adultes

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Feminist Discourse and The Research Enterprise:
Implications for Adult Education Research

A paper to be presented at CASAE
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... I doubt that in our wildest dreams we ever imagined we would have to reinvent both science and theorizing itself in order to make sense of women's social experience.

(Harding, p. 251)

... the day to day world we live in is so permeated by scientific rationality as well as gender that to non-feminists and perhaps even some feminists, the very idea of a feminist critique or scientific rationality appears closer to blasphemy that to social - criticism - as - usual.

(Harding, p. 19)

The feminist criticisms of science have produced an array of conceptual questions that threaten both our cultural identity as a democratic and socially progressive society and our core personal identities as gender - distinct individuals.

(Harding, p. 29)

The Problem

The Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities of Women circulated a letter in December of 1986 which contained the following statements:

> One out of every five Canadian women has less than a grade nine education.
>
> One in every five female Canadian adults cannot read or write.
>
> One in every ten Canadian families is headed by a sole support mother, half of these families live at the lowest levels of poverty.
>
> All too often social reform and policy changes - even those that have equity as an underlying principle - result in a deterioration of women's status in Canadian society in part because so little is known and understood about the educational and learning needs of women in our society. (emphasis added)

What are we in adult education to make of these facts? In particular, what are we to understand about why social reform and policy changes, and educational programs, ostensibly designed to redress inequity* issues, often seem unable to do? Why, too, despite the emphasis and apparent encouragement toward women going into science and technology fields as a way of alleviating future poverty, do so few women still enter these fields? These are the type of questions which in 1970 at the time of the recommendations of the Royal Commission Report on the Status of Women (1970) many thought would by this time not need to be asked. Research into the problems had been done in the 1970's and now it was thought to be just a matter of removing barriers and changing social policy. However, the fact that gender disparity still exists suggests that inequity is not so easy to erase just by removing some obvious barriers.

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* Equity refers to employment (and educational) practices designed to eliminate discrimination barriers and to provide meaningful opportunities for participation in employment and preparatory employment opportunities.

Issues of gender (and related issues of class, race, and ethnicity) have been found to be much more complex and intransigent in all countries than originally thought. Even Sweden, a socialist country whose political agenda and government policies are designed to encourage and promote women into the sciences and technology areas in order to improve their status have acknowledged their failure to be able to do so (Elgquist-Saltzman, 1985).

Today it is apparent that there are many subtle barriers which indeed are probably a part of and intrinsic to the fabric of science, technology and research. The established dimensions of these areas may well dictate inappropriate research methodology and research tools for uncovering the remedies to the inequity problems. In other words, the very premises of science, technology, and research as we have come to know them need to be critically examined.

The intractability of gender inequity in our society has led Canadian feminist scholars to address it by minutely examining epistemological concerns: that is, to concentrate upon the very nature of knowledge itself, examining its premises, and how we know what we claim to know. As a 1987 national conference demonstrated, all disciplines currently are under epistemological attention by feminist scholars. The conference titled The Effects of Feminist Approaches on Research Methodologies presented invitational papers from sixteen disciplines including: philosophy, law, sociology, social welfare, psychology, economics, literature, drama, chemistry, and computing science (Conference on the Effects of Feminist Approaches, 1987).

The kind of questions raised at the conference with epistemological implications were: Are feminist criticisms of the premises of science justified? What difference has feminism made to the methodology of research or to the way research is conducted? Is there a new crisis between feminism and methodology, centering around objectivity and subjectivity? Have feminists created a dichotomy between the rational as masculine and the subjective as feminine? To what extent is the feminist criticism of the knowledge of science related to the knower? While an underlying current of some feminist thought has been toward relativism*, are not some modes or voices better even from a relativist position than others? Surely not every position (e.g. a racist one) is able to give rise to truth?

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* Relativism is the view that all knowledge is socially produced and therefore is "defective" since it is "distorted" by social interests. Since all knowledge is thus distorted, there are no independent standards of truth. This an important difficulty, for it implies that there is also no way of validating relativistic theories themselves. (Abercrombie, 1984).

To what extent is methodology not a static entity, but one reflective of current social structure? Is there more methodological tolerance in some disciplines than in others? Are some of the questions addressed in methodology by feminists not really methodological questions but more rightly questions about management styles in organizations? How do the values of individualism and the role of the expert in our society go against the value of the inclusion of women in the design of technology and its systems? How can feminists in Canada engage in cross-cultural studies of all women (by race, class, ethnic origin) to prevent new knowledge from becoming egocentric and ethnocentric?

Are there ways of constructing new language which say what we want to say without the limits of conventional language? Is there a post modern language that can validate the intuitive knowledge claimed by women? To what extent is contextual thinking important, sometimes resulting in the difficulty of coming up with neat and tidy theories immediately but nevertheless of paramount importance? Is there value in dicotomous thinking in epistemology and are women better able to deal with the incompatibility and ambiguity of such thinking because of their own incompatible and ambiguous life experiences?

In particular, the epistemology of science and its affiliate, technology, is now of special interest. Until quite recently, science has perhaps received less scrutiny than other disciplines by feminist scholars, perhaps because of its traditional claim and societal acceptance of its avowed stance of objectivity and value neutrality. With the work of scientists such as Thomas Kuhn (1970) however, this protective veneer has been effectively penetrated for scrutiny by many scholars including scientists themselves. The scientific model has tended to be borrowed for research use in disciplines other than the natural sciences. Phenomenological models of inquiry in many disciplines have by contrast, encouraged the re-examination of scientific models. (McCormack, 1987).

Within adult education, the traditional scientific model and positivism as a panacea for penetrating such research questions as motivation, mobility, and participation by gender, class, race or ethnicity has to date been relatively disappointing. Nevertheless, science and technology issues are of particular interest to adult educators because of our interest in policy formulation and in designing appropriate training programs and experiences in these areas. Furthermore, the future points to expanded technological means of communication in education including distance delivery systems heavily dependent on technology. If we as adult educators fail now to understand the epistemological implications of science and of technology, particularly as they have a bearing on such delivery systems, we will be perpetuating the present inequities. New insights are needed into old inequity problems before we can know how to address the latter through educational programs which are more than cosmetic. At present, our insight cupboard is quite bare.

Adult education researchers could find it useful to return to the underlying premises of the disciplines which compose our field of study. A re-examination of epistemological questions about the knowledge obtained from all disciplines upon which we base our practice is required. While this task may seem a formidable one, it is an approach which is being advocated not only by feminist scholars, but by scholars from a variety of disciplines (including adult education) and from perspectives other than a feminist one. Collectively referred to as critical theorists such theorists usually have in common strands of concern regarding "epistemological critiques concerning science and technology, the analysis of the social psychology of domination and emancipation, and an interpretation of the paralysis of class conflict" (Morrow, 1986, p. 711). Feminist critiques are but one of an on-going discourse from a critical theory or post modern perspective.

In the remainder of the article, I propose to review critically the premises underlying the kind of studies which have been done pertaining to gender. Using a framework which is that of philosopher of science Sandra Harding, (1986) research studies involving gender can be classified into five kinds of programs. At least three kinds of epistemological positions are represented by these programs. Each position and program can be subjected to rigorous critical examination. The criticisms of many scholars as well as those of the presenters at the 1987 conference will be incorporated in the discussion. Many of the conference presenters used classification systems of research studies in their fields which were similar to those of Harding. The overall purpose of this analysis is to obtain some insights into the difficulties of uncovering the reasons for gender inequities through research. It is proposed that the underlying premises of many research programs may be inadequate for addressing gender inequity and that epistemological questions need to be asked of all research programs.

Types of Research Programs Addressing Gender Inequity

Harding presents five different but related research programs which are currently in use in the research of gender. Each program exemplifies a feminist critique of science while at the same time raising epistemological questions which can best be addressed by another program. It seems to be Harding's contention that the five programs demonstrate an evolutionary development from a more simplistic critique in vogue in the past to a program entailing a more complex critique, one which she hopes can evolve eventually into a feminist theory of science. At the conference on feminist methodology, it was interesting to note that many of the speakers either referred to Harding's categories, or used probably unknowingly remarkedly similar categories for their own classification systems of work within their own disciplines.

1. equity studies

> "The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich
> as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in
> the streets, and to steal bread".
>
> (quoted in Abella, p. 1)

The first program concerns itself with equity studies. These studies which were especially prevalent after the Royal Commission report, documented the "massive historical resistance to women's getting the education, credentials, and jobs available to similarly talented men", and, "the psychological and social mechanisms through which discrimination is maintained even when formal barriers have been eliminated" (Harding, p. 21). Included, too, are "motivation studies which show why boys and men more often want to excel at science, engineering and math than do girls and women".

A feminist critique of such studies includes such questions as: Should women want to become just like men in science (or like male lawyers, like male physicians, etc.)? Is not equality or sameness with men a "low" goal for women? Furthermore, as law professor Lynn Smith has noted (Smith, 1987), the getting of more women into law says nothing about the general participation of women in the larger society. Furthermore, in the case of law, studies from this program perspective do not question whether the law is as equitable for women as it is for men. The assumed neutrality of the law (which other feminists would argue has a male bias) has been left untouched. The important aspect in law from this perspective is to ensure that all individual women are treated the same way as men. Similarly, with this program the norms of science (and the canons of literature, too) have been left untouched. Later in this discourse, it will be questioned whether the treating of women in the same way as men is equitable for women. As Smith indicated, finding comparable male situations in order to compare females in the case of law has led to ridiculous situations. For example, in one case in Canada it was argued that the touching of a man's beard on a bus by a woman would be similar to the touching of a woman's breast on a bus by a male (breasts and beards being viewed as secondary sex characteristics). Thus, if the male did not view this act on his person as sexual harassment, neither should the female view the comparable act on her person as sexual harassment. The male norm therefore becomes the standard for judging equity.

2. studies of the uses and abuses of biology, the social sciences and their technologies

Studies within this perspective aim to indicate "the ways science (or research) has been used in the service of sexist, racist, homophobic, classist social projects". (Harding, p. 21). Examples of these kinds of studies would include such studies which show that despite work force legislation, domestic workers and particularly immigrant women, are treated differently from other workers. While images of motherhood and the value of the nuclear family are upheld and venerated, at the same time social support and daycare facilities for single mothers and non-nuclear families is shaky. Such studies demonstrate that we have different reproductive policies, forms of domestic labor, and forms of work place discrimination for women by class and race.

Like the first research program, studies in this program area do not question the norms of science itself. Researchers and practitioners "assume there is a value-free, pure scientific research which can be distinguished from the social uses of science, and that there are proper uses of science with which we can contrast with its improper use" (Harding, p. 21-22). Like the first research program, the problem here is "bad" science. It is bad science because these studies reveal the way that "research" can be harnessed into the service of sexist, racist, homophobic and classist social projects.

In both kinds of research programs, equity studies and uses and abuses studies, the epistemological stance from which such programs arise is one which Harding calls feminist empiricism, empiricism referring to the search for knowledge by observation and experiment.

The discourse behind a feminist empiricism indicates that sexism and androcentric attitudes seen in science are evident especially amongst male researchers but these are conditions which can easily be corrected as soon as social movements "make it possible for people to see the world in an enlarged perspective because they remove the covers and blinders that obscure knowledge and observation" (Harding, p. 25).

In law, the legal approach to problems would be to accept the objectivity of the law but to note that there may be exceptions which need to be found to make sure they are made consistent. This approach does not question the underlying legal principles on which the law is practiced but rather the way it is practiced.

From the perspective of feminist empiricism the questioning of feminists is at the level of questioning "bad" science practice (or "bad" legal practice)). The solution as presented to society and to researchers in various disciplines is relatively attractive for a number of reasons. The most important attractive aspect is that it does not pinpoint the existing norms of methodology as the problem (nor existing laws) and thus does not attack "science-as-usual" as the problem. Rather, it points to the "bad science" done by some of its practitioners, a practice which can be alleviated once the practitioners are aware of their bias and once more women become practitioners.

However, the difficulty with this solution is that it is not really viable for it contradicts the scientific method. The feminist solution proposed by feminist empiricism is that feminists (male or female) as a group are more likely to produce unbiased and objective results than are men or non-feminists. However, this solution goes against the norms of the scientific method, those norms which indicate its capability of eliminating any bias due to the color, race, or gender of the individual researcher. Furthermore, the concept of empiricism does not address a key origin of androcentrism which pertains to the selection of problems of study. The norms of empiricism were meant to apply only to the testing of hypothesis and interpretation of evidence (i.e. to the context of justification) and not to the context where the problems for research are identified and defined. Harding concludes that "...feminist attempts to reform what is perceived as bad science bring to our attention deep logical incoherences and what, paradoxically, we call empirical inadequacies in empiricist epistemologies. (Harding, p. 26).

3. studies questioning the value-ladenness of all inquiry

The first two programs have in common two underlying assumptions. "... in the first case the assumption that equality with men... should be our goal, and in the second case that pure science is value free and distinguishable from its social uses, and that there is somehow a clear distinction between the proper and improper uses of science" (Hanen, 1987). Later programs begin questioning these assumptions.

With the third program, questions are raised about the fundamental value-ladenness of all knowledge seeking, and especially questions the selection and determination of what should be studied, what requires explanation, and what is of interest. From this research perspective, it is maintained that there are "cultural fingerprints" in what is designated as worthy of study. Because the experiences of men differ from the experiences of women, one can expect that research problems arising out of the experiences of male researchers as males will be the ones selected for study. While on the one hand one could say it is "bad" science for male researchers to only select problems which are of importance to them based on their experience, on the other hand, will not the selection and definition of problems always bear the "cultural fingerprints" of the dominant group in a culture? The work of Carol Gilligan (Gilligan, 1982) would be an important example of a study coming from this kind of research program. Her work does not use male standards for the women but alternatively demonstrates the meaning which the experiences of women have pertaining to moral development.

It is from such a critique that one can see a burgeoning number of studies which seek to capture the "perspective of women". One popular way has been through biographical studies. As oral historians have sought to capture the voices of working class people usually unrecorded in history, so studies attempt to give voice to women of various age, class, race and ethnic origin. A number of studies relying on biographical or life history approaches can be cited here. For example, those of oral historians Susan Trofimenkoff, Eliane Silverman, and sociologists such as myself (Trofimenkoff, 1985, Silverman, 1984, Warren, 1986).

A recent American study relying on life history materials obtained from interviews of women from a variety of classes, ages and races, and ethnic origins bears consideration. In particular, this study may shed light on the illusive motivation questions faced by adult educators and alluded to in the introduction. Inspired by the work of Carol Gilligan and William Perry, the four psychologists operated from the premise that some women collectively are as rational as some men but that the rationalism is itself different because it arises out of the experience of gender. Experience of gender in the home and school, thus leads to different epistemological assumptions of how one knows what one knows. In their work, a Woman's Way of Knowing (Belenky, et al, 1986) the authors outline five epistemological positions, each with its own rationale based on experience, used by the women in the study. These are:

1) Silence - where women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless.
2) Received knowledge - where women experience themselves as capable of receiving knowledge from external authority, but not of creating it themselves.
3) subjective knowledge - where truth is thought to be personal and private.

4) procedural knowledge - where women use traditional "objective" procedures,

and

5) constructed knowledge - which is contextual and where both objective and subjective strategies are employed (Belenky, et. al., p. 15).

The examining of this work in light of training programs for women could have important implications for adult educators. In particular, it is interesting to note that regardless of which "level" of knowing the women were located, the metaphor of "voice" (and hearing) was more important than the metaphors associated with "seeing" (e.g. blind justice, veil of ignorance, double blind tests). The study raises interesting speculation about the extent to which many adult educator practitioners as well as clients may feel more comfortable with "voice" modes of knowing than with "visual" modes.

This third research program clearly raises the epistemological question of relativism and it relationship (or non-relationship) to subjectivity. Must objectivity always be satisfied only by value-neutrality? And if so, does the feminist critique then force us to subjectivism, and to relativism, an assumption that no value-directed inquiries can be objective and therefore all are equally justifiable? Such questions are addressed by the next research programs.

4. literary criticism, historical interpretation, and psychoanalysis studies

With such studies, research using these related techniques "have been used to 'read science as a text' in order to reveal the social meanings - the hidden symbolic and structural agendas - of purportedly value-neutral claims and practices" (Harding, p. 23). Such studies suggest to Harding that the concern about maintaining dicotomies in science and epistemology (such as objectivity vs. subjectivity, mind vs. body, reasons vs. emotions) are reflections not of necessity for science to progress, but rather are related to a specifically masculine and probably uniquely Western bourgeois needs and desires.

Examples of studies probably inspired by this tradition include that of Nancy Chodorow in her Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender (Chodorow, 1978). In this pioneering work, one can see the possibility of re-examining the psychoanalytic tradition and re-formulating the extent to which the importance of the symbolic world suggested by a misogynist Freud still has validity as a symbolic system but importance as one based on gender socialization within cultural norms rather than biology. Is biology really destiny or are we socialized to believe that biology is destiny?

From studies such as these Harding raises a number of questions such as: What relevance do the writings of the fathers of modern science have to contemporary scientific practice? What theory would justify regarding these metaphors as fundamental components of scientific explanations? (Harding, p. 24). And finally, her searching question which leads her to the fifth and last research program: Can we imagine what a scientific mode of knowledge seeking would look like that was not to distinguish between objectivity and subjectivity, reason and the emotions?

5. epistemological inquiries

The last research program concentrates upon epistemological inquiries related to science and research. Harding describes three kinds of alternative epistemologies which are themselves challenges or alternatives both to each other and to the dominant epistemologies of science. Not only do these epistemologies pose problems in relation to the present dominant epistemologies of science, but they have paradoxical implications for each other as has been already anticipated by the questions raised earlier in the discussion of the five kinds of research programs.

The three kinds of epistemological inquiry which Harding has named are: feminist empiricism; feminist standpoint; and feminist postmodernism.

Earlier, in this paper, feminist empiricism was discussed particularly as its premises applied to the first two research programs. It is the third research program which begins to question not only how research is done, but the content selection for research study that a second epistemological position emerges: that of the feminist standpoint.

the feminist standpoint

The feminist standpoint epistemological position can be said to have its roots in the work of Engels and Marx. Their work saw that due to ownership of property, one class of people dominated over another class, and that the domination of the former affected all aspects of life including the domination of knowledge. However, the dominant class because of its privileged position developed "a false consciousness" which prevented its members from a true understanding of the real nature of the world. In a similar way, the feminist standpoint argues that men's dominance in economic and social life has given men a partial and distorted view of the way of the world. By way of contrast, women's subjugated position provides them with the possibility of a more complete and less distorted view of reality. This perspective does not argue for multiple realities (i.e. a masculine perspective and a feminine perspective) as far as truth is concerned. Rather it argues that the view of the "underdogs" (or under-women) because of their experiences is closer to the truth than the false consciousness of males. Thus, this perspective does not reject the possibility of "one truth" but encourages the search for it. The feminist standpoint as viewed from this perspective is "a morally and scientifically preferable grounding for our interpretations of nature and social life" (Harding, p. 26). The work of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith and of British sociologist Hilary Rose would be good examples of research inspired by this epistemological position (D. Smith, 1979, H.Rose, 1984).

Such a perspective will clearly have problems from a scientific empiricist view which denies that the gender (or class, or race) of the researcher affects the view of truth. But the perspective also raises tensions for feminists as well. This perspective, like feminist empiricism assumes that a value-free science is possible. Secondly, it assumes that women (unless they have been co-opted by the dominant group such as REAL women) do not have false consciousness and therefore are more able than men (at least those whose consciousness has not been raised) to experience "the truth".

A major problem arising from such a perspective surely is: Can there be _a single_ feminist standpoint if women's social experience is divided by class, by race, and by culture? Surely there are black, white, working-class, professional class, Canadian, Mongolian, and Indian standpoints? While this epistemology is the basis for most of the research studies in the third program of studies, nevertheless, studies such as Belenky, _et al_., although inspired by a collective of women's views of knowing nevertheless is not arguing that women's way of knowing is "better" and "the truth", but rather that there are multiple ways of knowing based on reason and experience. This position then raises the question of whether there are multiple realities which lead to multiple truths.

Harding notes that perhaps the idea that there is only one reality which dominates this epistemological position, comes from the falsely universalizing perspective of the dominant master. "Only to the extent that one person or group can indeed dominate the whole does 'reality' appear to be governed by one set of rules." (Harding, p. 27) It is with queries such as these that one enters the realm of the last feminist epistemological inquiry, that of feminist post modernism. At this point, however, it is possible to see how at least one strand of feminist skepticism regarding the "orthodox" Marxist view allies such feminists with other critical theorists (or post-modernists) who are re-assessing class conflict.

feminist post-modernism

Feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint epistemologies basically see good science and research as essentially objective and capable of value neutrality. Although strands of feminist post-modernist thinking appear also in these two epistemologies, in contrast, feminist post modernism sees science and research as necessarily bearing "the cultural fingerprints" of the dominant groups of a society, not only in the selection and definition of the problems but of the knowledge claimed. Thus feminists from this epistemological position are questioning the very premises of science and research as being essentially androcentric and hence not a standard for a universal science. It is this epistemology which essentially informs the fourth research program and of course is the culmination to date of epistemological thought for the fifth research program. It shares along with other intellectual movements a "profound skepticism regarding universal (or universalizing) claims about the existence, nature and powers of reason, progress, science, language, and the 'subject/self'" (Harding, p. 28). In view of space, this article can not do justice to all of the tensions implicit in this epistemological position.

It is perhaps in the area of affecting the canons of literature, both in English and French, that post-modernism has most affected the products of a discipline. Pam McCallum (1987) notes that writing by feminist writers has taken the task of not so much a construction of a genre unique to itself but rather a re-thinking of the whole idea of genre itself. She noted the influence which the new French writers have had upon writers in English, particularly with respect to language. As Dale Spender (Spender, 1980) has pointed out, words often are just not there in English for women. For example, there are words such as "nymphomaniac" and "frigid" to describe some sexual states of women, but no words for in-between states. The question arises then, are there ways of constructing a new language? What might a new language look like, a language in which the conventions of writings are changed? New writings often seem difficult at first because we are used to certain canons or rules, such as knowing the sex of the writer or characters which are not apparent in this writing. "The main way of writing (in post-modernism) is that the writing disrupts the conventions in order to speak in a new way" (McCallum, 1987).

Subjectivity, Objectivity, and the Question of Relativism

Thelma McCormack in her keynote address to the conference on feminism and methodology raised a central question of the extent to which feminist discourse has created a crisis for feminists pertaining to appropriate methodology. She states, "This crisis is related to the two versions of the truth, the insiders and the outsiders, subjectivity and objectivity". (McCormack, 1987) Her assessment is that feminists themselves are divided on the issue with the debates being so intense that methodology has become an end in itself, not a means of inquiry. However, one can respond that if the methodology used does indeed distort the truth, or prevents the experience of some kinds of knowledge being expressed, then indeed it does need to be at the centre of the debate.

Feminists who argue for knowledge obtained by subjective means do not always believe such means are more important forms of knowledge for uncovering the experiences and insights of women than are objective means (but may doubt that objectivity is possible). The feminist critiques presented in the last section arising from the three epistemological positions need not be re-iterated here. However, the critiques as presented by Harding lead one to acknowledge that subjectivity probably is inherent in all research and to acknowledge its presence allows one to engage in research with a rationality and an awareness of the conscious implications pertaining to all aspects of the research enterprise: topic choice; effects of researchers on the researched; interpretations of the findings; and the consequences of the findings. This is as true for the natural sciences as it is for the social sciences. McCormack cautions us not to reject objectivity and rationality:

> ... subjective feminism versus objective feminism ... is a no-win situation. It paralyzes us and distracts what we are trying to do. Neither of the options can do what needs to be done: to prove the unprovable, to demonstrate that gender equality is a viable option in modern social life and that the oppression of women through symbolic systems destroys the richness and decency of a culture.
> (McCormack, 1987)

Many researchers would agree with McCormack on the value of an approach toward research in which researchers value equally objectivity with subjectivity. Such an approach would lead to a more wholistic and balanced view of reality just as self-actualization theory in personality development demands a balance between the two kinds of knowing for the individual. What is at issue here though is that one kind of knowing, the rational and the more objective is valued more highly in our research environment than is a rationality based upon the subjective and the intuitive. Because the rationality of the subjective and the intuitive is not always understood, it is often assumed to be irrational or non-rational. As the latter kind of knowing seems more likely to be associated with women than with men, as a way of knowing it is not as highly valued in research circles or in public life. Monique Begin, a cabinet minister in ex-prime minister Trudeau's cabinet for seven years noted at the conference that when she left the cabinet, Trudeau told her that her political acumen astounded him. Never, he said, had he met a politician whose political sense was always right on two fronts: the rational and the intuitive. Her intuitive judgment, claimed Begin, Trudeau always felt uncomfortable with because he could not follow its logic and hence felt uneasy with knowledge gained about her political constituency in this way.

Harding also makes clear that although subjective understandings may be favoured, this does not mean a leap to relativism (Harding, p. 27) Similarly, Hanen in her conference paper notes that from the perspective of feminist discourse, not all positions are viewed as acceptable and not every point of view is expected to yield truth. (Hanen, 1987) However, this position seems not to have been well understood. Hanen points to the difficulty which the construction of a feminist epistemology poses for many people.

She says:

> ... to date there has been little constructive feminist epistemology, partly, I think, because of the difficulty that people trained to accept traditional notions of scientific rationality and objectivity have in introducing "subjective" or "personal" elements without feeling they have fallen into an unacceptable relativism. The problem of adducing grounds for rejecting certain views as incorrect while at the same time allowing that we cannot tell which from among the remaining intellectual positions is correct, even when these are incompatible with one another, is one for which we have no clear methodology. Perhaps different ones of these positions are acceptable in different contexts and for different purposes, and we do not have to choose. Women are sometimes said to be better able to deal with ambiguity and inconsistency than are men, and this is often attributed to women's greater involvement in the complexities of day to day living and personal relationships.
>
> Hanen, p. 11)

Finally, Harding cautions us to note that agnosticism and recognition of the hypothetical character of all scientific claims are quite different epistemological stances from one of relativism. Thus, while persons may wish to reject feminist discourse on the grounds which it shares with other intellectual streams in post modernism and critical theory, care should be taken before rejecting it on the basis of its assumed relativism.

Conclusions

In this article I have started out with the observation of gender inequities in Canadian society which would seem to be remediable through education but which to date remain relatively intractable. I have suggested that it would be of value for all of us as researchers in adult education to re-examine and re-assess the research models which are in current use. I believe we have become stymied from a lack of insights due to perhaps inappropriate research models which may have seemed to serve us well in the past but whose epistemological assumptions undermine our abilities to obtain real advances in our understandings of the invidious effects of gender (and class and race) upon our educational programming.

Attention to feminist critique can, I believe, provide insights into inequity problems and into the relative sterility to which we as adult educators have fallen in trying to address inequity and motivation concerns. The plea in this article is for a return to epistemological questions in order to gain some insights into an otherwise remarkably bare cupboard through re-assessing our research endeavors in all disciplinary approaches. Only through such attention can insights be obtained into the educational and learning needs of women.

This discourse has outlined the three feminist epistemological positions suggested by Harding which result in feminist critiques of five kinds of research programs. The last epistemology, that of feminist post modernism, leads to critiques which question the extent to which " a science apparently so deeply involved in distinctly masculine projects can possibly be used for emancipating ends" (Harding, p. 29). Feminist post modernism is thus a search for a feminist science which can complement the present science (essentially a masculine one). Ideal of course, would be the re-writing of science and the re-writing of literature texts and the re-making of laws, etc. so that feminine thought and masculine thought would be truly merged into a whole unidentifiable by its gendered components (or class, or racist components). Nor would terms such as subjectivity be viewed as feminine (and hence non-rational and inferior) and objectivity as masculine (and hence rational and superior). Different ways of knowing could be respected, valued, integrated.

The purpose of this critical analysis has been to high-light the epistemological concerns which feminists currently are addressing with respect to research and the nature of science and technology. Such discourse may be viewed as part of the larger critical analysis which all disciplines are currently undertaking. This article has tried to demonstrate the nature of a feminist discourse within this critical tradition and to advocate the value of such kinds of discourse. Such critical discourse is necessary in order to penetrate questions such as why we as adult educators have such difficulty ascertaining the reasons for gender inequity in our research programs and in our educational programs.

It is my contention that feminist discourse and critique is important, too, in adult education in allowing the field of adult education to receive nourishment from a tradition started by E. Lindeman (Lindeman, 1961) but which has been under relative neglect. It may well be that it is feminist discourse which opens up and allows other critical discourses to examine the epistemological roots of the knowledge used in our adult education practice.

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The Cusps of University in Adult Education

In a time of rapid social, cultural, economic, political, religious and technological change, people become aware of the fact that much education today is education for survival in a complex society. But they want more than survival in a complex society, they want, to quote Lindeman, "to put meaning into their whole life."

Experiencing an extraordinary rate of change in its own life is correlated to learning at an extraordinary pace. The learning a person undertakes is related to the transition he or she is undergoing. As demographic indicators change to keep up with change in life circumstances, they will continue to correlate with learning and the life transitions that cause them. Brickell and Aslanian concluded that "transitions--and the learning needed to accomplish them--occur unevenly in the several areas of adult life but the major purposes for adult learning is to acquire occupational skills in a proportion of 80%. Adults want reorienting, reframing and refocusing in their personal and occupational lives.

A new emphasis on adult learning is partly due to the fact of a demographic shift to an increasingly adult society which provides a new challenge to the nation's resource learning. The character of higher education is also changing. The primary focus is shifting away from an emphasis on the 18-22 year old undergraduate student toward a broader, more encompassing view of learning as a longlife learning process. The most acknowledgeable expertise of higher education institutions is still geared more toward preparing youth to enter a profession, than to practice it. Universities are likely to change rather dramatically in the 90's, particularly in terms of who attends them. For example, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A., of 40,000 students enrolled for the fall semester 1979, 12,000 were 25 years old and older, about 30%. But there is a more significant phenomenon in the Province of Quebec. According to SISCU, of 188,000 students enrolled at the university level in 1984, 95,000 were 25 years old and older, about 52%. Between 30 and 39 years old, the proportion was 32%. At the graduate level, only 18% were under 25 years old. The part-time students, generally adults, represented 52%. These facts are truly related to the occupations range from the traditional, such as medicine, law, engineering, to the emerging professions of business, computer science, nursing, adult education, architecture and many other fields. The common thread among these fields is an ever expanding body of specialized knowledge which must be continually pursued if one is to remain on the top of the field as an effective and efficient practitioner.

Adult education as a field of academic inquiry is currently bedeviled by a stultifying academic orthodoxy regarding the conceptualization of what passes for appropriate practice within our field. Meanwhile, adult education is that activity concerned to assist adults in their quest for a sense of control in their personal and occupational lives, within their interpersonal relationships, and with regard to the social forms and situation structures within which they live, said Brookfield. In a learning-teaching transaction in adult education, the core is the fact of critical reflectivity, and according to Mezirow, this action is uniquely proper to adults.

In each domain of learning--learning for task-related competencies, learning for interpersonal understanding and learning for perspective transformation--critical reflexivity is very useful for realizing the belief system, the value frameworks and the behavioral prescriptions, informing that the conducts are culturally constructed and transitory. Developing in adults a sense of their personal power and self-worth is seen as a fundamental underpinning to the concept of adult education. All these characteristics concern higher education. As praxis is the heart of adult education, the model of Learning Processes developed by Jarvis relatively to meaningful experiences is a constant process of activities, reflexion on activity, analysis, new activity, further reflexion, evaluation and internalization.

As many other fields, adult education, because of its rapid extension, was perceived as lacking of academic integrity in accordance with the secular norms of the university. In Quebec, some institutions are still perceived as service stations, offering programs on the basis of market trends rather than societal needs. The three old universities: Laval, McGill, Montreal envisioned themselves slowly as providers of educational services to adults. They placed high priority on the traditional mission: research, teaching to conventional clientele and community services.

Since 1974, the University of Montreal has had a Faculty of Adult Education, named la Faculté d'Education Permanente, but the University did not make the accommodation necessary to serve adult learners with full and equal effectiveness. In this faculty, there are only two full-time professors. As dean of the faculty of Education and member of the University Assembly, I was witness of the following fact. In February 1981, an important document relative to Adult Education appeared on the agenda of this assembly, the discussion was made in April 1985. After five years, the Faculty of Law gave recognition to a certificate in Law which is a program of the FEP. Professors of Law were participants in the elaboration of this certificate but students could not get recognition of their studies to continue in the Faculty of Law. But in the Faculty of Medicine, there is a helpful structure or service to initiate the professors to the requirements of the adult learner. We can observe institutional barriers but it is also a question of mental disponibility from the faculty.

From a theoretical point of view, it is possible to identify a kind of coordination and integration for the adult education activities in many universities but it is not clear at all that each unit may benefit from the experience and expertise of other units within the system. As dean, I tried to establish more integration relatively to programming between professors preparing young teachers and those working on programs on continuing education. Moreover, these professors were members of the same unit or department, but it was almost unpracticable.

According to my own beliefs better relationships between these professors should have increased the quality of both programs. I think that each institution will need to develop its own structures for blending the academic strengths of faculty and departments with the action knowledge. Despite conflicting perspectives between them, both continuing educators and research-oriented faculty have an important role in the development of continuing professional education programming.

Intending to avoid some misrepresentations concerning the role of the university, it is interesting to underline some conclusions made by the National Centre for Research in Vocational Education in 1980 concerning where the competencies should be taught. From two broad categories: "taking charge" which appears to focus on autonomy, risk taking, and responsibility for self; and "finding one's place" which includes career decision making competencies and job-search skills; teachers, students and employers said: these competencies should be taught in the school system but are actually learned on the job.

In their quest of excellence, the institutions of higher education should process to a continuous evaluation of themselves and their programs to ensure quality and integrity. Excessive standardization, insufficient individualization, needless repetition are often operations of cover-up or camouflage to protect inertia and resistance to change. At the college level in Quebec, due to the research of Dr. Marthe Sansregret, some instruments were developed to make adequate recognition of prior learning and experiences, but little was done at the university level. One can observe a rigidity of schedules and almost total absence of services for part-time students which represent 52% of the enrolled clientele. It is necessary to say that even institutions that wish to serve adults have difficulties adapting their needs because few funds are available for design or redesign of programs and services for adults that must differ in nature and scope from those of youth. The support of the provincial government decreased about 28% since the last six years.

A great contribution of adult education to Higher Education is possible in the field of research. Comme la pratique professionelle est au coeur de l'éducation des adultes, il y a beaucoup de types de recherches propres à enrichir la recherche scientifique habituellement reconnue dont l'unique méthodologie fait toujours le poids et dont la consommation de la corréalation statistique perdure. Les phénomènes étudiés en éducation des adultes pourraient, entre autres favoriser le développement de méthodes qualitatives qui rejoignent de plus près les réalités de l'action.

Adult learners are involved in a constant process of activity, reflection on activity, collaborative analysis of activity, new activity, further reflection and collaborative analysis and so on. In fact, through education, adult learners come to appreciate that values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviors are culturally constructed and transmitted. They are engaged in a continuous process of recreation of their personal relationships, work worlds, and social circumstances learning how to be proactive and less reactive people. They come to cope with the dilemmas of learning, they learn to deal with the complex, ambiguous, novel and threatening nature of any task, to deal with the theories-in-use, to deal with the time constraints and with the difficulties related to the process of changing.

All these realities become a negative or positive field forces. Moreover the role of the adult educator is evidently concerned with the practice of intervention as is any other continuing professional role. It is by reflecting on these practices that a contribution will be made to an understanding of how knowledge claims can be treated and justified in practice and how such inquiry is similar to and different from that of mainstream science. In fact, we are referring to action science such as promoted by the key protagonists: in the first step, Lewin and Dewey, and lately Argyris, Schon and others.

The constantly glorified approaches to knowledge are the scientific theories which are deductive systems of universal laws, called the mainstream view of scientific explanation of a reality, of which the main feature is "a standard view." But the use of the action science approach to knowledge get a chance to solve a problem, in questioning the tacit knowledge or the tacit hypothesis and subsequently to reframe the situation after a better problem setting. The last operation "the problem setting" is frequently configured away. In the practice of education and adult education, it is very difficult to solve problems in classrooms, in management and so on because of a lack of a real questioning of the tacit knowledge embedded in recognitions, judgments and skillful actions as knowing-in-action. Making explicit the tacit knowledge embedded in action by reflecting-in-action is a way to figure out what to do differently.

L'exercice de la fonction critique constitue une mission importante de l'université en même temps qu'elle permet de

pousser plus loin les frontières de la connaisance. La confrontation des savoirs dits scientifiques avec les savoirs dégagés de la practique ne peut qu'enclencher un développement de nouvelles connaissances. L'université questionnée par les étudiants adultes tant par leurs particularités que par leurs exigences, doit à son tour savoir interroger les actions de ceux-ci en allant au-dela des pistes informatives et en embrayant sur la valeur significative des réalités. C'est un genre d'échanges exigant et profitable qui ne peut être réalisé aussi richement avec les jeunes en formation initiale. Il y a tout avantage à laisser une place vraiment reconnue aux activités d'éducation d'adultes, autrement ce serait un gaspillage en terme de ressources humaines et de savoirs expérientiels.

Adult learners are always experiencing light or severe transitions over certain periods of life. These situations, priceless occasions of re-education, must be submitted to public reflection intending the reconstruction and the criticism of the rules and norms of inquiry customarily enacted with community of practice, as these determine the systems' capacity of learning.

Le candidat adulte à l'université est généralement percu comme un apprenant non-traditionnel mais demeure fréquemment traité comme un étudiant traditionnel. Les bouleversements provoqués par la présence des adultes à l'université exigent de noveaux modes d'intervention édicative et plus encore beaucoup d'invesstissement en terme de recherche afin d'influencer ou d'anticiper les expériences de changement.

If adult learners are the Key to the Nation's Future according to the U.S. Commission on Higher Education and Adult Learning, why could we not go further in that direction?